THE ENGLISH REVIEW

Current Comments

JUNE, 1933

A Verbose Month

IT is difficult for a commentator to thread his way through the maze of nonsense which has been talked and written in the last four weeks. It is a major effect of the Conference habit that it becomes so ingrained that the breakdown of a conference assumes in the political mind the character of a disaster. Conferences in this way become an end in themselves and the most reckless pledges are given and taken in the desire to preserve a conference in being. In this way it happens that a conference may actually be "saved" by the sacrifice of the very objective for which it was called. Something of this kind has happened already at Geneva, where it has become a cardinal object of the *conférenciers* not to abolish conscription but to re-impose it on Germany, and so to restore in one important particular the *status quo* of 1914. It is of course true that in that year the French had a longer period of military service than the Germans, and the Germans twice as long a period of service as is now proposed. But is the fact that the 1914 disparity between the French and German periods of service is to be removed altogether reassuring?

Is it Peace?

OF course it may well be that the long-service professional army which France as a colonial power will still enjoy is intended to secure her an effective predominance. But what is there in the German Chancellor's speech to suggest that he will accept such a predominance? Nothing whatever. Germany is ready to re-arm slowly, provided other Powers disarm rapidly, so that equality is reached at the end of five years. This is described, quite accurately, as a gesture, and to the modern mind any gesture is better than none. It gives

us all something to talk about, and in five years anything may happen. That also is true, but it is necessary to remind our amateur diplomats of the old world and the new that if their new policy succeeds in "saving the conference" the chance of peace will have been brought to depend wholly on the removal of the potential causes of war within a very narrow time limit.

That is the first point. The second is not more reassuring, for the very narrowness of the time limit, and the substantial improvement which, under the plan, will be effected in Germany's relative military position during the next five years will make the re-settlement of Europe more and not less difficult.

The Truth about the United States

IT is quite idiotic to suppose that the United States will settle the outstanding European questions for us. The English press can quote half of President Roosevelt's formula for a pact as often as it likes, but the French, Polish and German press will not omit to refer to the qualifying clauses which make it mean exactly the opposite of what the English press pretends.

Here in the left-hand column we quote a typical summary from the English press (in this case, *The Times* leading article), and in the right-hand what President Roosevelt really said. The italicised portion of the latter is what is omitted from the former.

"The President urges as a further immediate measure that all nations of the world should enter into a solemn and definite pact of non-aggression and agree that they will send no armed force of whatsoever nature across the frontiers of other nations."	That all nations of the world should enter into a solemn and definite pact of non-aggression; that they should *solemnly reaffirm the obligations they have assumed to limit and reduce their armaments, and, provided that these obligations are faithfully executed by all the signatory Powers,* individually agree that they will send no armed force of whatsoever nature across their frontiers.
Times (leading article).	Mr. Roosevelt's message.

In any case, why should President Roosevelt be expected to intervene in such wholly European questions as the Polish frontier, and the future of Austria and Hungary? If Europe lacks the statesmanship and the determination to settle these problems for herself, there will be war. And if war comes, not a single American soldier will cross the Atlantic to fight for Poland or Germany. This is obvious, and it ought to be unnecessary to say it.

Mr. Davis's Speech

SINCE the last paragraph was written, the text of Mr. Davis's speech at Geneva has come to hand. It bears out in full what has been said above. Mr. Davis merely restates what everyone knew—that the United States will reserve their full right to decide for themselves on the merits of every European dispute, and that even if they reach a definite decision in favour of one side or the other, their support will be strictly negative in character. The declaration is not, indeed, unimportant. In the case of a dispute in which a maritime power is involved, the United States appear to be more or less committed to tolerating a blockade in a case when they agree that the blockading power is not the aggressor. This may well be a valuable diplomatic advantage to this country in certain circumstances. The pledge, however, has not even that degree of potential utility in the case of a purely continental dispute. No doubt, as the result of Mr. Davis's intervention, the Disarmament Conference will be saved. But will disarmament be realized? The one has little or nothing to do with the other.

Another Conference

THE World Economic Conference is another instance of the conference habit. The public have short memories, and it may be interesting to remind them that the original idea behind this Conference when it was first mooted was to clear up the monetary muddle

consequent on war debts and reparations transfers. Now the Conference meets amid a crescendo of enthusiasm from the delegates and the complete indifference of the world to discuss everything under the sun except war debts and reparations. The inclination to tolerate these expensive gatherings on the ground that they "can't do any harm" is pardonable, but should be resisted. The world's financial problems require international consideration, but the effective interchange of opinion is impossible on these formal occasions. A far graver objection is that political, military and economic considerations get hopelessly involved and the world's business, already twice ruined by the twin political follies of the war and the peace, is likely to be sacrificed a third time to political bargaining. One Power wishes to stabilize the exchanges at one ratio, a second Power prefers another ratio, and a third is opposed to stabilization. These same Powers are also anxious to secure each other's adhesion to their formulæ for European pacification or naval disarmament or far-Eastern policy. Meanwhile the small Powers, not in the least directly concerned with any of these things, enter the arena with their own policies, which they put forward with impassioned eloquence, but proceed to use as bargain counters in every kind of political and diplomatic intrigue. This is not the way to restore prosperity.

The Lesson of Manchukuo

THIS may seem a gloomy picture, but it is a true one, as every one knows. The affair of Japan is a clear example. In the face of the whole world as represented by the nations at Geneva, Japan pursues what the whole world knows perfectly well to be the only possible policy in the present state of China. The Chinese diplomatists scored a diplomatic victory; Japan marches on; and the prestige of Europe in the Far East is gone for a generation. The tragedy lies in the fact that it has gone to no purpose. Not one of the great Powers ever had the

slightest intention of intervening in China, and none of them believed that it was possible to coerce Japan into a reversal of policy by pious exhortations. The practical men who determine the actions of the great Powers knew from the start what the issue would be. They were made gratuitously to look foolish and to invite the world's ridicule. It was in fact worse than ridicule. The indifference to human suffering, which the great Powers have developed into a fine art during the fifteen years of China's agony, deprived their plea for international agreement in defence of Chinese interests of the slightest moral value. Everyone, except apparently Dr. Benes and Professor Gilbert Murray, knew beforehand that no one would move a muscle, much less a man or a gun, whatever resolution was passed at Geneva.

The Duty of Self-Interest

WE do not blame the great Powers for refusing to be dragged into a world war at the instance of Dr. Benes. We blame them for continuing the twin pretences that effective action in world affairs can come from any body except one confined to the world Powers, and that any action at all can be undertaken as long as they say in public the opposite of what they believe in private. The first duty, for instance, of the British representatives at the World Economic Conference is not to find a formula of universal beneficence but to define and uphold British interests when they are vital. The world will not recover till Great Britain recovers, and every concession made at the expense of British commerce and industry is a blow at world prosperity. In this connection we refer our readers to the very striking passage in Mr. Amery's article in this number, where he analyses the effect on the world crisis of our free trade policy up to 1930. The monetary question is likely to provide another instance of misplaced altruism. Politicians are writing as if this were essentially an international affair. It is not. There are two questions,

one wholly domestic, the other half domestic, half international. We proceed to define them.

Prices and the World Conference

THE first essential for this country is to raise our internal price level to the point where it is equated to our internal indebtedness, our fixed prior charges, and our internal "promises to pay." This is a domestic question, and must remain so. The international reactions of a change in the internal value of the pound sterling are purely temporary, and cease as soon as the internal price level has adjusted itself to the new valuation. At this point any temporary subsidy on exports ceases, and the foreigner is where he was before reflation began. The only permanent effect is on the foreign holder of English fixed interest bearing securities, but here the foreigner is in the same position as the English holder. That is his guarantee of fair treatment and it is a sufficient one. In any case the precedents are clear.

It is only after deciding the measure of internal reflation necessary that the monetary question becomes international. The question which then arises is whether we are to regulate our currency *from that point* with regard to internal price stability or the stability of the exchanges. It is at this point that the wise, internationally minded statesman will consider first and foremost the needs of international trade and the advantages to an exporting country of stable exchanges. There are those who say that these advantages are too dearly bought. But that may be to ignore the possible consequences of a refusal to stabilize. This is a proper matter for discussion at the Conference.

India

IT is now clear that the chance of passing the Indian proposals into law in this parliament is small. That is no matter for regret. In our last issue Sir Arnold Wilson subjected these proposals to a dispassionate examina-

tion. He did not ask for their rejection, but for their amendment. He has since been adopted as National candidate for Hitchin—a significant comment on opinion in the constituencies. It is indeed doubtful whether any candidate for a Conservative seat will be able to secure unanimous adoption in future if he refuses at any rate to support the re-examination by an impartial committee of the proposals in the White Paper. So far, so good. The future of India is, however, bound up with the future of this country. The present Government has not quite lost the confidence of the country, but it is losing it very fast. It is the general opinion that the next election will give no party an absolute majority. It is the unanimous opinion that it will, if present policies are continued, place the Conservative party in a minority. In such an event we should be more than half way to Socialism, and the break up of the Empire would be very near at hand.

The Next Election and the Leadership

WE do not accept this forecast, subject to our proviso. If the opposition to the Government's India proposals develops into a heresy hunt, if independent candidates are to be run against National Conservatives on this issue (otherwise than as a legitimate political device for testing public opinion in one or two selected constituencies) then the chances of developing a constructive policy along Conservative lines will be lost, and much else will be lost in the process. Provided that this is avoided, the growing independence of the Conservative party in the country will inevitably lead to the formulation of a new and truly conservative policy which will be forced on the party by the constituencies. Whether this will involve a change in leadership it will be for the present leader to settle for himself. No one wants a change on personal grounds. The country, however, demands a new and vigorous policy of social reconstruction along conservative lines in clear and defined

opposition to those socialistic policies so slavishly followed hitherto.

The Foundations of a New Policy

THE foundation of Conservative policy is clear. It is to aim at an ever wider distribution of property, which is the only guarantee of liberty and the only foundation of character. Philosophically as well as politically, this involves the relegation of economics to their proper subordinate place in the hierarchy of social sciences. We must no longer ask what pays best in cash or goods, but what pays best in amenities, in human values. We shall rebuild our agriculture, therefore, with the clear knowledge that our food may cost us more but that our people will be happier on the land than on the dole. We shall restore our coal industry in the knowledge that any small inconveniences which the transition from oil to coal may cause will be repaid in the restoration of hope and an honourable livelihood to thousands of miners and their families.

Again, we shall insist on such a measure of internal reflation as will release industry from the burden of artificially increased prior charges and an intolerable load of taxation. The present price level has no effect more socially disastrous than its effect on the smaller businesses. It is a direct incentive to amalgamation. It makes the poor poorer and the rich richer. By creating trusts and monopolies which cry out for control it is leading us directly to socialism and the servile state.

Contract and Status: Mr. Morrison's Address

FINALLY, the Conservative party must turn its back on the present Parliamentary system in favour of a system which will restore the reality of self-government in the appropriate spheres, and enable a strong central government to speak for the nation, and not merely for a class, on national issues. This means the adoption of the principle of functional not regional representation.

Thus alone can labour be given a proper political status and a true equality. Industry must regain its liberty with the added dignity of an autonomous responsibility. For the problem of capital and labour there is no other honourable solution. A resolution in favour of the corporate state has already been passed by the Conservative party. The time has come for a serious effort to give effect in the party programme to what is to-day only a pious resolution. Public opinion demands swift and vigorous movement towards new objectives. It sees the task of the state as the creation of the conditions for independence, the secure ownership of property, and the corporate direction of industry by those engaged in it. It will, as a desperate alternative, accept socialism, with its denial of status, its doctrine of universal submission to the state. But public opinion, deeply mistrustful as it is of socialism, will not for a moment accept the present system, with its denial alike of status, security and equality, as an alternative. That is the lesson of Italy, of Russia, of Germany, of Spain and of Ireland. It will be the lesson of the next two elections in England. The country is hungry for leadership along new paths. Mr. Morrison's brilliant address to the English Review Lunch Club last month, which we publish in this number, shows that the younger members of the party, of whom he is one of the acknowledged spokesmen, are aware of the drift of events. Those who are not yet so aware must take care lest events pass them by.

DOUGLAS JERROLD.

The Problem before the World Conference

By the Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery, M.P.

ON June 12 the long-heralded International Economic Conference will meet in order to discuss the problem of the great world-wide economic depression. For the purposes of this article it is not necessary to say anything about the Conference itself or to inflict on the readers of THE ENGLISH REVIEW an analysis of the various divergent or conflicting view-points of the fifty-six nations which are to be collected in a hitherto unutilized Kensington museum. It will be enough to remind them that the outlook and interests of Afghanistan are not the same as those of Venezuela, and that even this country and the United States approach the problem from somewhat different angles. Nor would it be of any advantage to embark on prophecies as to the outcome of the Conference, or to predict by what means the uplifting eloquence of our Prime Minister, or the ingenuity of the Conference secretariat, may succeed in bringing about agreement, real or apparent, on some policy, or formula, destined to restore a sick world. The only object of the present article is to set out the writer's personal views as to the nature of the problem itself and as to the general direction in which a practical solution can be found.

That the world is in the throes of an unparalleled economic depression and dislocation requires no demonstration. Nor is it necessary at this stage to enter upon any elaborate argument to restate or to confirm the view of the Macmillan Committee and of the great majority of economists, here and abroad, that the depression is due, primarily or at any rate proximately, to the fall in prices resulting from the failure in the working of the international gold standard as re-established in most countries of the world some seven or eight years ago. It may, however, be useful, in explanation of that failure, to

recapitulate briefly the essential features of the gold standard system in the days of its successful operation. It was a system based first of all on the free convertibility of the various national currencies into gold and *vice versa*, and on a free import and export of the precious metal. In the second place—and it is essential to keep the two points distinct—this convertibility was everywhere at a fixed parity; the weight of gold exchanged for a given sum of national money was, by law, always the same. The first condition provided the means of liquidating or balancing international payments. The second maintained all the various currencies at a permanent parity with each other, but at the same time made the internal value of money in every country concerned depend on the amount of gold available for the general business of the world.

From the point of view of international trade and finance the system had obvious advantages. Its weakness lay in its inadequate provision for the maintenance of a continuously stable price-level. For one thing the total world supply of the precious metal might fail to keep pace with the volume of world production. This is, in effect, what happened in the seventies, when the effective gold supply was suddenly reduced by the demonetization of silver. The fall in prices and the depression which followed were almost comparable to the present crisis, and it was twenty years before the accidental discovery of the Transvaal goldfield restored the situation. For another thing the available gold supply might be unduly reduced by excessive accumulation in one or more countries. This latter danger was supposed to be obviated by the automatic check of falling prices in the countries which lost gold and rising prices in those which accumulated it—a check which could really be effective only under free trade conditions—as well as by the operation of the monetary authorities on the discount rates and the security market. In fact, it was only obviated because the one country that had the power, through its surplus

credits, of drawing the world's gold into its own coffers was Great Britain, and because we either spent those credits in ever-increasing purchases or redistributed them by a continuous policy of oversea investment.

This vitally important consideration was entirely disregarded when the gold standard was re-established. The control of the situation had passed to the United States, who had by then become a creditor nation on three counts: first, on an enormous favourable balance of commodity trade; secondly, on a vast volume of foreign investment; last, and least, on their position as the ultimate recipient of the bulk of inter-governmental payments arising out of the Great War. To get a true perspective of the situation it is essential to remember that while war debts and reparations have undoubtedly aggravated the situation, they have not been the only, or even the main factor in bringing about the maldistribution of gold which has caused the crisis. A single set of figures will give the real proportions. In 1930, the world owed the United States £50,000,000 for war debts; £122,500,000 interest on commercial debts; £156,000,000 on balance of trade. The governmental payments were thus only 15 per cent. of a total debt, for one year, of nearly £330,000,000 which, unless met otherwise, had to be settled in gold. With a total world supply of monetary gold of about £2,100,000,000, of which America alone, in 1925, already held £950,000,000, it should have been obvious that the re-established gold standard was bound to break down unless effective measures could be taken to counteract the tremendous one-way traffic in payments which these figures indicate.

What measures could have been taken to give the new gold standard greater security? A remission of all war payments would undoubtedly have greatly eased the situation. So would a drastic reduction of the American and French tariffs, enabling more payment to be made in goods instead of in gold. But it is essential to remember that it is not tariffs, as such, that contributed to the crisis,

but the one-way traffic of payments. To correct that required not only lower French and American tariffs, but, if possible, higher tariffs by the rest of the world against those two countries. Such discriminatory tariffs were precluded by the most-favoured-nation clause so far as most other nations were concerned. We, indeed, were in an exceptional position to correct the situation if we had changed our fiscal policy at that time. We were buying under free imports on an average £150,000,000 a year more from the United States than we sold to them. This total consisted, not only of manufactured goods which we could have made ourselves, but also of primary products, a large proportion of which, under Imperial preference, we could have drawn from the Empire without infringing the most-favoured-nation clause. On any impartial statistical analysis of the situation it is clear that the continuance of a free trade policy by this country after the war was, if anything, a more serious contributory factor to the general breakdown than the debt payments themselves. We might have saved the world much suffering if we had only looked after our own immediate interests.

In the absence of any of the necessary corrective measures indicated above, the re-establishment of the gold standard was, in fact, a gamble on the probability of the Americans continuing to redistribute some £300,000,000 a year of credits in the only means of payment which they themselves were prepared to take, viz. foreign investment or foreign travel. For four years they spent freely in both directions. After 1929, for purely domestic reasons, they drew in their horns and the crash became inevitable. As gold was withdrawn from the rest of the world, prices everywhere fell. To divert the impact of the world crisis from themselves the several nations, including in the end even ourselves, were compelled to reduce imports by tariffs and other restrictions. Some were driven off the gold standard. Others, clinging desperately to a nominal maintenance of that

standard, have, in fact, gone off it. They have made a pretence of maintaining the fixed parity of the gold standard system, but abandoned its even more important feature, free convertibility. These emergency measures have, no doubt, in some degree aggravated the situation. But it is a delusion to regard them as the cause of the crisis. They have no more caused it than the umbrellas in the street cause the rain.

Such being the situation, what is to be done to remedy it? Is it possible to restore an international monetary standard at a reasonable price-level and insure its future successful working? Let us just consider the difficulties. At the very outset would come the difficulty of fixing a new parity between the different currencies and gold, a difficulty by no means diminished by the United States going off the gold standard, and heading resolutely for a controlled, but certainly far-reaching measure of inflation. At what figure could we afford to come in without serious injury to our trade? At what figure would Japan be prepared to join without sacrificing the tremendous competitive advantage which she is enjoying at the moment owing to the depreciation of the yen? At what figure could Germany come in and stay in without her present exchange restrictions?

But the problem of arriving at an agreed initial parity is a small matter compared with the problem of maintaining that parity without the risk of a new dislocation being set in motion by the same forces as originated the present one. Will the United States forgo not only their war debts, but their commercial debts as well? Or will they so reduce their tariffs as to reverse the balance of trade heavily against themselves? Or can they guarantee to resume and maintain a policy of foreign investment and a habit of foreign travel on the scale of the 1924–29 period? Not one of these things is in the least likely to take place or to be acceptable to American public opinion. Nor is there anything to suggest that France will come forward with an offer to carry out such

a complete change in her tariff policy or investment habits as would release, for the purposes of world trade, the £600,000,000 of gold which she has contrived to accumulate, not without an eye to political emergencies. More generally, are the nations of the world in the least prepared to abandon their nationalist economic policies, intensified as they have been under the strain of the recent crisis, and abandon all the vested interests which they have been building up? Ask Herr Hitler whether, as a contribution to so worthy an international cause, he is prepared to abandon his policy of complete self-sufficiency in food production. For that matter, ask Major Elliot what gold parity would induce him to scrap his Agricultural Marketing Bill!

The Preparatory Commission of the Conference have observed, very truly, that an international monetary standard is only possible as part of an international economic system. But an international economic system is the last thing that anyone is prepared to restore. The fact is that the restoration of the nineteenth-century monetary system presupposes the restoration of the nineteenth-century world, a world in which free trade was still, in a large measure, in being, and in which the undisputed control of the credit and monetary situation rested with an England which pursued an international policy, both in trade and in investment. It was the attempt to re-establish that pre-war world under post-war conditions—to pour the fermenting new wine into the worn-out wine skin—that caused the present disaster, and we should, indeed, be foolish if we were to repeat the experiment, at any rate until the process of fermentation is completed. Meanwhile, what prospect is there of all the efforts, even of fifty-six nations assembled in Kensington, availing to set the Humpty-Dumpty of the international gold standard on his wall again? That they should fail in this does not matter. What is to be feared, however, is that the domination of the nineteenth-century outlook and phraseology among the majority of

the delegates—not least perhaps our own—will lead them to devote all their time to the attempt to bring back a bygone economic world, in the teeth of every instinctive antagonism, instead of striking out on new lines and endeavouring to find new solutions more compatible with the conditions and the outlook of the present day.

What are those solutions? Do they involve the complete abandonment of the function of the precious metals in the monetary system of the world and the establishment of some purely artificial paper system or series of systems? Not at all. For the greater part of the world the political conditions are not yet such as would give the public complete confidence in a purely paper currency, one which could not in case of need be converted into something permanent and indestructible and at any rate less liable to fluctuation in value than the output of a Government printing press. For international trade, too, the convenience of a universally acceptable commodity, or commodities, of value for the final settlement of balances, and perhaps also for purposes of reckoning, cannot lightly be disregarded.

What is not necessary, however, is that the various currencies should be actually based on gold, i.e. rigidly linked to it by a permanently fixed parity, or that their volume for purposes of internal circulation should be regulated by the amount of gold held in reserve for international exchange purposes. It is that rigid linking which has brought about the present crisis, because it has altered the value of money in every country, and so affected every social and economic relation, in order to keep in line with the changing value of a dwindling available supply of the precious metal.

The suggestion here put forward is, in fact, that the Conference should aim, not at restoring a fixed gold parity, but at restoring the free import and export of gold and its free convertibility at whatever price each government may from time to time determine in terms of

its own currency. Such a measure would mean the sweeping away of all the present exchange restrictions and so help appreciably towards the revival of international trade. It would at the same time enable the different countries to take such measures in the direction of the restoration of a reasonable price-level in terms of their own currencies as they may think fit. They may do this by devaluation in terms of gold, or by direct increase of their paper circulation, or by loan expenditure, or by a combination of cheap money rates and reduced taxation with an active promotion of industrial enterprise, or in any other way appropriate to their individual conditions. It is by such an independent policy of parallel reflation—in which the United States are, indeed, at this moment giving a lead—and not by any rigidly uniform plan of international action, that lies the best hope of restoring world prices.

Once a reasonable internal price-level, say, 20 per cent. above present sterling prices, is restored, the object of each country should be to maintain the internal stability of that price-level and to fix the gold convertibility of its currency from time to time at such rate as will correspond to that object. It would give a higher price for gold in terms of its own currency in proportion as gold rose in terms of all other commodities, and *vice versa*, thus automatically reinforcing such other measures as it might take to maintain a stable price-level. Such a "compensated" gold standard policy, if generally pursued, would steadily tend to bring about, if not absolute exchange parity between different countries, yet a stability of exchange sufficient to warrant a great revival of international trade. Nor is there anything in such a policy to prevent the fixing of absolute exchange parity between individual nations or groups of nations where the balance of mutual trade and the intimacy of financial relations render such a course feasible. Nothing could be more helpful towards a general world recovery, as well as towards their own, than that such a group of

countries as would be constituted by the countries of the Empire, together with such other countries as might wish to join them, should get together on the basis of complete sterling parity among themselves. The same applies of course, to any similar monetary union among the European countries, or between the United States and the members of a possible dollar group. On the other hand, any attempt by individual countries to try and undercut the monetary policy of the rest by the deliberate depreciation of their currencies in order to force their export trade, could and should be met by the general application of an anti-dumping surtax, such as is in operation in Canada to-day—though this would require getting rid of the obstacle of the most-favoured-nation clause, a step necessary, in any case, for reasons discussed later in this article.

It will be observed that what is proposed really means that gold, while ceasing to be the universal basis and fixed measure of currency for internal purposes, should remain in effective use as a commodity into which currency can always be freely changed, at a price, for the convenience of external trade and, in countries which find it necessary, also for purposes of maintaining confidence at home. From that point of view it would undoubtedly help the general situation if silver were also admitted to a similar position. Such a step would increase the total of precious metal available for the purposes of world trade to an extent which would always be appreciable and, given a considerable rise in the price of silver, might even be substantial. At the same time the rise in silver prices which would follow would greatly strengthen the purchasing power of China, whose currency is on a purely silver basis, and of India, where silver constitutes the bulk of the reserve assets both of the Government and of the people. The heavy fall in silver in recent years, due entirely to governmental action in debasing silver coinage, and not to excessive supplies from the mines, has undoubtedly contributed to the

general depression, and a reversal of the process could not fail to have beneficial results. Incidentally the political position in India which is, at bottom, intimately connected with economic depression, would be greatly improved, and the chances of a successful inauguration of the new constitutional reforms greatly increased.

Such a recognition of silver as a generally acceptable monetary commodity need not, of course, imply bimetallism in the old sense of establishing a definitely fixed ratio or parity between gold and silver at which silver would be freely taken at the mints. All that is necessary for present world purposes is that governments and banking authorities should be prepared to accept silver at market price, or at such price as they may from time to time fix with a view to the general stability of the price level, in part payment of any international settlements made in precious metal and as reserve held against their own currencies. The amount permissible to be so used for the former purpose would be a matter of agreement between the countries concerned, and might be some such figure as ten or fifteen per cent. of the total payment. For the latter it would be such proportion as each country chose to fix for itself. Congress has already equipped President Roosevelt with powers that would enable him to agree to almost any proposal on these lines, and it only requires our concurrence to secure world-wide acceptance of what would constitute an important and immediate contribution both to the general monetary problem and to the scaling down of war debts.

To turn from purely monetary policy to the intimately connected subject of fiscal policy. Here again a mere direct frontal attack on the problem, on the lines of advocating a general and promiscuous reduction of tariffs, is bound to lead to failure. There will be almost universal lip-service to the nineteenth-century ideal of international Free Trade, coupled with a fixed determination in practice on the part of each country not to

give away anything that would throw open its economic defences to the whole world. The right solution lies, not in pressing for an impossible world Free Trade, but in encouraging the mutual lowering of tariffs between any pair or group of countries that wish to trade more with each other.

To do this it is, however, necessary to get rid of the unconditional most-favoured-nation clause which forms a part of almost all the existing commercial treaties between the nations. This clause, originally devised with the idea of spreading freer trade, has long ago, in practice, worked in the very opposite direction. The fact that a concession given to one country in return for a valuable *quid pro quo* has to be given to all the rest of the world for nothing, makes each country reluctant to grant concessions itself, and inclined to sit back in the hope that the concessions which it wants to secure may come to it automatically, and for nothing, as a result of some bargain between other countries.

How contrary the most-favoured-nation clause is to the spirit of the times can be seen in some of our latest trade agreements, where the items of greatest value to both sides are really the undertakings given in respect of the quantitative restriction of supplies, undertakings directly contrary to the spirit if not to the letter of the most-favoured-nation clause. There is a strong and growing desire among most of the European nations to give special tariff concessions to each other without being necessarily committed to extend them to countries which will not reciprocate, or to go outside the boundaries of Europe. So far, however, owing to a narrow and short-sighted view of our interests, this country has vetoed such an attempt at creating by mutual agreement a low tariff group of European countries as was initiated by the recent treaty between Holland and Belgium, by insisting on our treaty rights to receive the same treatment as the members of the group. Such an attitude stands in the way of all sound economic and political reconstruction in

Europe, and is morally inconsistent with our claim to disregard the most-favoured-nation clause when we make arrangements with the other nations of the British Empire.

The one really useful thing which the World Conference could achieve on the fiscal side is to come to a general agreement that the most-favoured-nation clause should, by common consent, and without prejudice to the other clauses of existing commercial treaties, be regarded as obsolete, and that no one should in future be entitled to dispute the right of any two nations or groups of nations to establish specially intimate trade relations among themselves. We might have to abandon certain rights as against a possible European preferential group. But we should be free to make agreements of real value with countries like Denmark or the Argentine with whom we wish to be on specially good terms, without interfering, as we have done in the present treaties, with the development of our Empire policy. These mutual fiscal arrangements would, naturally, tend to follow the same groupings as the agreements for mutual exchange parity to which allusion has been made earlier in this article. They would, indeed, provide the trade conditions essential to the permanence of such monetary agreements. They might have an even greater ultimate advantage in providing the economic foundation for more permanent political groupings.

What, in fact, one would wish to see emerging from the World Conference is the clearing away of the debris that still remains of an artificial system of general internationalism which the last century endeavoured to set up in its monetary and treaty policy, and to substitute for it freedom for the nations to work together, in such groups as may naturally constitute themselves, towards a progressively closer co-operation over the whole field of trade and finance and even of general policy. Such groupings, while aiming primarily at closer association between the states immediately concerned, do not, of

course, imply any severance of economic relations with other groups or, indeed, any necessary raising of barriers. At the same time it would naturally follow that the greater part of the volume of world trade and investment would tend to keep within the groups rather than outside them.

To sum up my recommendations for a practical policy for the World Conference, they are: first, the abandonment of the idea of re-establishing the old international gold standard on the basis of a fixed parity, and concentration on the object of restoring the free convertibility and availability of gold, and also of silver, as the medium of international settlements, exchangeable into national currencies at such rates as may from time to time be fixed by each country, the general object of each country being the maintenance, after the restoration of a reasonable price level, of internal price stability at that level with a consequent approximate stability of international exchange, free opportunity to be given at the same time for the creation of absolute stability of exchange between such countries as choose to work together in their currency policy; second, the abandonment of the most-favoured-nation clause and the encouragement of natural groupings among countries for mutual economic support and freer mutual trade.

Such a policy would be entirely consistent with the Empire policy embarked upon by us at Ottawa. It would make possible, in a way in which no other policy could, the gradual solution of the economic and political problems of Europe. It would, in most respects, fit in with the line which President Roosevelt has already taken, or been empowered to take by Congress. Whether the assembled representatives of the nations can sufficiently cast off the slough of old ideas and phrases to enable them to arrive at such a solution is a question to which only the Conference itself can give the answer.

Three Widows

By Raymond Bantock

SARAH ATTWOOD was growing old, and soon after her seventy-third birthday she learnt that she was suffering from an incurable disease. All through her life she had looked facts in the face, and it did not take her long to realize, despite the uneasy smiles and hopeful assurances of those about her, that her days were numbered. She even forced her doctor to admit that six months would be an outside limit to the time yet allowed her on this earth. Philosophically enough, she therefore lost no time in putting her house in order while the discomfort and pain of her disease were tolerable.

There was one important matter weighing on her mind, and that was closely bound up with the lives of two other widows, Josephine Curtis and Kathleen Arnell. Consequently, she took the unusual course of summoning them both to her house in London, eight months before the date of their annual meeting.

For thirty-eight years now these three women had met together on August 1st, the anniversary of the tragedy which had widowed them all.

Long forgotten by all but these three, it had caused no little stir at the time. On this day thirty-eight years ago, the three women, then in the full flush of womanhood, had received the terrible news that their husbands had been drowned off the coast of the Isle of Wight. The three men, all middle-aged ex-naval officers, had clubbed together the previous year and purchased a 10-ton yawl, and this was the second occasion on which they had set out with the object of spending the first fortnight of August cruising round the coast of England.

The facts, as far as could be ascertained, were these: Tom Attwood and Alec Curtis, who were men of leisure, had gone aboard *The Saucy Girl* in Portsmouth harbour on July 31st to get everything in order. Guy Arnell, who, since leaving the Navy, had entered a business

which necessitated a good deal of travelling about the country, had been unable to reach Portsmouth until the following afternoon. They had put to sea soon after he came on board. Manned by her three owners, the yawl made good headway under sail, steering a south-easterly course. They had hoped to round Selsey Bill and put in for the night at Littlehampton, but off Foreland Point they were overtaken by one of those sudden and violent squalls which are the terror of sailing vessels in the Channel. They hauled down their sails and made at once under engine power for the nearest haven. It was supposed that, at this juncture, their small auxiliary engine must have broken down, and that, unable to repair it, they had recourse to oars. They must have striven desperately against the wind, which soon reached gale force, but it was useless. Night came on, there were no signs of the gale abating, and they were being rapidly driven towards the rocky shore. Their distress signals were seen too late for help to be rendered. At about 10 o'clock that night *The Saucy Girl* was dashed to pieces on the rocks near Culver Cliff, and the three owners were drowned, all three bodies being recovered from the sea during the following week.

Such is the brief story of the tragedy which darkened the lives of these three women.

A tragedy of this kind is ghastly enough without the embroidery of sinister details, and when these were added the three widows found it ten times harder to bear. It was as if Fate, not being satisfied with taking their husbands' lives, had aimed a blow at their honour as well. For, hardly had they learnt of the catastrophe, when details of a most scandalous nature began to be whispered abroad and, in spite of the most strenuous efforts on the part of the widows to prevent it, to find their way into the newspapers.

It was rumoured that there was a fourth person on board *The Saucy Girl* at the time of the tragedy, and

that that person was a woman. People watching on the cliff were alleged to have distinctly seen the form of a woman aiding the desperate crew of the doomed boat when it was being driven helplessly towards the rocks as darkness came on. But the most damning and definite evidence was that of the night watchman on the quay at Portsmouth, who asserted that while on duty he positively saw a closely-veiled woman go on board the yawl late on the night of July 31st. And she was not seen to leave. The obvious conclusion then was that she must have been on board at the time of the tragedy and have shared the fate of the men.

The scandal was taken up and echoed from mouth to mouth as these things are, and public investigations were set afoot.

"Gay sparks, these fellows, to share a woman on their holiday jaunt away from their wives! And witty, too, to call their boat *The Saucy Girl!* What a pity tragedy should mar such a bright idea!"

The three unfortunate mariners were credited with more than naval ingenuity in the carrying out of their illicit intrigues, and with histories of escapades and conquests in the arena of gallantry which soon put Casanova to shame. Husbands smiled, but wives scowled, protested, and disbelieved. The supposition was an insult to their sex. But none were more scathing in their indictment of the scandalmongers than the three stricken widows, who all denied as strenuously as they could, not only all knowledge of any infidelity on the part of their husbands, but even the possibility of the latter having ever been unfaithful to them either in thought or deed. In fact, the infidelity involved was by many, especially by the women-folk, considered to be of greater import than the loss of the husbands' lives.

In support of their protestations the widows had one very strong and significant piece of evidence: only three bodies were recovered from the sea. If there was

a woman on board, why was her body not recovered? Against this it was argued that the sea does not always yield up its dead.

But there was yet another point in their favour. No one came forward to claim kinship with or knowledge of the unknown and elusive female; neither could any missing woman be traced to Portsmouth, in spite of private investigations by the police among the haunts of those unfortunate women whose class is popularly designated by the word 'certain.'

Eventually, then, the widows' view was accepted as the truth, the official pronouncement being that the supposition that the doomed men had an unknown woman on board at any time was unwarranted by the facts and a fabrication from beginning to end. It concluded, in addition, that those observers on the cliff who claimed to have seen the woman on board must have been deceived by the distance and the oncoming darkness; and as for the night watchman in Portsmouth Harbour, it was proved beyond doubt, with the support of numerous witnesses, that he was a frequenter of a public-house in the vicinity of the quayside!

Consequently, the affair of *The Saucy Girl* was dropped, much to the relief of the widows.

The matter faded from the public eye, as it was bound to do sooner or later, but it was not forgotten by the three widows or by their circle of friends in Bournemouth, where they lived. As the scandal became more confined, so it became more insidious. Though the widows had strenuously and nobly upheld their husbands' integrity, their friends could not help suspecting that the poor women were far from confident in their own minds as to their assertions. It was only when the ignominy of public humiliation was finally averted that the full force of these matters was realized. It was a source of great interest to this circle of friends to watch and guess the attitude of the three widows towards each other. It was obvious to all that each of them, while secretly

admitting the possibility of there being a kept woman on board, would firmly uphold her own husband's integrity, and accuse the other two, with silent looks and cunning insinuations rather than with definite allegations, of having been married to faithless husbands. The three central figures of this tragedy were often seen together, and, for the sake of appearances, were always very sympathetic and considerate towards each other in public, but what took place between them when they were alone together could only be guessed.

Sympathy for the three was fairly equally divided. Two of them, Kathleen Arnell and Josephine Curtis, were blessed with children, the former with a son and the latter with a daughter, both infants, but the most popular view was that the added anxieties and responsibilities which these two mothers would now have to shoulder in bringing up fatherless children were more than counterbalanced by the tragic fate of the eldest of the three, Sarah Attwood, who had no children to console her.

About a month after the tragedy, an event occurred which caused a profound stir in this little circle. It leaked out that Sarah Attwood had secretly admitted to the other two that she had discovered among her husband's papers positive proof that there was a woman in the case, and that her husband, Thomas, and he alone, was the guilty party. She had not, so the rumour went, revealed to them the exact nature of the evidence she had found, but had told them that she had been urged to confess this discovery to them because they had children whom she did not wish to suffer in any way through any slur cast on their fathers' names—a stigma which, if allowed to run its natural course, would undoubtedly develop into an unpalatable ' skeleton in the cupboard ' for each family concerned—whereas she, who was childless, could easily bear her misfortune alone.

It was a noble and beautiful gesture. The two

mothers were overjoyed and relieved beyond measure, and made a great show of gratitude to Sarah Attwood, who might so easily have kept her knowledge to herself. The latter had made only one condition before revealing her secret. She had asked the other two to keep the information to themselves, as she did not wish her own humiliation to be made public. The others readily agreed.

Kathleen Arnell kept her word. By far the most physically attractive of the three, she had been awakened with a terrible shock, by this sudden blow, from a life of happy-go-lucky frivolity and vanity; in a night, as it were, a sober realization of the sterner facts of life had been forced upon her, and with this change had come a stability, a reliability, a sympathetic understanding which had formerly been all too lacking in her character. Josephine Curtis, however, who was socially ambitious and thought more of the world's opinion than her own, could not resist the temptation of letting out the secret to a friend whose indiscretion she could rely upon. The result was what she wished for. The secret soon became public property, and all doubts as to its authenticity were put to an end when, on being questioned as to the truth of the rumour by a friend, Sarah Attwood did not deny it, but simply replied:

"I refuse to say anything on this matter. It's entirely private and doesn't concern you in the least."

More than this she would not say to anyone. In this way the matter was settled as satisfactorily as it could be under the circumstances. The two children grew up without a stain on their fathers' good names, while Sarah Attwood was looked upon by all as a noble, generous, and unselfish woman, as indeed she was.

* * * *

All this happened thirty-eight years ago, and in the meantime the children had grown up. Mrs. Curtis's daughter had married respectably into a well-to-do family, and a year later had died in childbirth.

Mrs. Arnell's son had been killed in the war. In this way the passage of time had practically levelled the fates of the widows, who were now all childless, white-haired old women. By this time they had all left Bournemouth and, save for these three, not a soul remembered the tragedy of thirty-eight years ago. Josephine had gone to live in York; Kathleen had retired to a cottage in Hampshire, and Sarah had moved to London. There was a standing agreement between them, however, that once every year, on August 1st, they should meet together to talk over old times, and this plan had been religiously adhered to without a single break during all these years. Latterly, they had always met at Sarah's London house, since it was most convenient.

The nobleness and generosity which had prompted Sarah to invest her own husband with the sole guilt of infidelity, thereby bringing on herself a lasting disgrace, were quite in keeping with a character which in youth was frankly sceptical as to life after death. But as she grew older, Sarah, at all times a thinking woman, had become more tolerant towards religion, and had begun to lean hopefully towards any view of life which tended to justify human existence and to reveal some ultimate purpose in the workings of the Creator. Such a view would naturally not exclude the possibility of a future life. But only when she found death staring her in the face did she realize to the full the ghastliness of the utter annihilation which she, a childless widow, would have to undergo, unless there was some hope of personal survival. She had consequently come to believe that it was at least possible that she might meet her husband again in an after life, and it was this conclusion that had decided her to call the other two widows to her London house eight months before the usual meeting time, for she had something important to tell them.

It was a cold, dark January afternoon when her

visitors arrived, and soon afterwards three white-haired old women were sitting in her parlour waiting for tea —their hostess, the eldest, pale, pensive, and preoccupied with the thought of her approaching dissolution; Josephine, slight in figure, prim and proper, and tightly-laced as always; and, lastly, Kathleen, sixty-eight years old, once beautiful, but now frail and wizened, whose sad, sympathetic, thoughtful grey eyes and deeply-lined face no longer bore a trace of the gaiety and vivacity which had inspired her youth. Though the youngest, she looked the oldest of the three.

"This will be our last meeting," said Sarah, suddenly, in response to the enquiries of the other two as to why they had been summoned to London. And she went on to tell them of her malady and of her approaching end.

It was a melancholy tea-party. Three old women brooding silently over death; one of them more or less resigned to it, the other two, deeply shocked, reminded with unpleasant suddenness of the sombre fate which had already marked down one of their number, and which must inevitably overtake them all in the not-far-distant future.

There is amongst all humans a universal conspiracy to forget and ignore death, and when we are unexpectedly brought face to face with it most of us cannot contemplate it for long without deep soul-searching, without shrinking into our innermost selves like frightened animals. That was why so few words were spoken.

Presently the tea things were cleared away, and the three widows sat huddled before the fire in the parlour. Outside the wind moaned occasionally, and gaunt trees swayed to and fro as the winter afternoon closed in.

"I could have told you my news by letter," said Sarah, after a long silence, "but I've asked you both here, because I feel that the time has come to tell you something that's been weighing on my mind for a long time."

The other two eyed her with frightened looks. What further shock could she have in store for them?

"It may be that I shall meet Tom again before long," their hostess went on, "and I can't bear the thought of it until I've cleared his name. You must remember that, years ago, when I told you I had certain proof of his guilt, I was young and had different ideas about things from those I have now. Besides, circumstances were different. Both of you had children. I had none."

"It was noble and generous of you, Sarah," said Kathleen, with a kindly smile.

"Indeed it was," echoed Josephine.

"But all the same," continued Sarah, "it was a lie, a horrid lie, a horrid stain on my husband."

"A lie?" Josephine's voice trembled involuntarily.

"I had no proof whatever of Tom's guilt with any woman, and I only told you I had in order to make things easier for you two and your children."

"Do you mean to say——" began Josephine.

"That's the truth," interposed Sarah. "You may not believe me, but there would be no reason for me to lie—now."

"So it may have been one of our husbands after all, Kate," said Josephine, nervously, glancing at the youngest of the three. Then, turning to the other, she went on: "I find it difficult to believe you, Sarah, all the same."

"I believe you, Sarah," said Kathleen, laying her hand gently on Sarah's arm, "and I thank you. You are even more generous and noble than we thought."

"I believe you, too, Sarah," said Josephine, after a pause.

"Then will you both forgive me?" asked Sarah.

"Of course," said Kathleen.

"Of course," echoed Josephine.

"Besides," continued Sarah, looking piercingly, almost accusingly, from one to the other, "one doesn't like to tell a lie when one is as near death as we all are. Neither can

anyone dare to leave the truth untold at such a time," she went on, emphasizing her words.

Josephine withered under her gaze and turned her head away. Kathleen shrank back into her chair and closed her eyes.

Then there was silence again for a long time, except for the moaning of the wind outside. The three old women sat motionless before the fire. Now and again a white head was lighted up by a momentary flame, but none of them could tell what the others were thinking.

Sarah's last words had penetrated deep into Josephine's soul and had affected her profoundly, opening up a wound that had been closed for a long time. For thirty-eight years Josephine had guarded her secret closely. But now that she learnt the true extent of Sarah's generosity, the meanness of her own behaviour came home to her with sudden and shattering force. The feeling of guilt grew and grew, until it seemed to press upon her with the whole weight of the earth. The disturbed state of her mind, due to the shocks she had received and to her sudden realization of the imminence of death, contributed to the poignancy and force of her self-accusations.

Could *she* die with this stain on her soul? Sarah had told the truth at last. Why should she not do so, too? It was the right moment for a confession. If she did not tell them now, she would never have the courage later on; besides, it would be too late when Sarah was dead.

" Sarah, Kate," she began falteringly, hardly daring to look at them. " I, too, have something to ask your forgiveness for, but I've been so mean and despicable that it's almost too much to ask. But, I must tell you all the same. I can't bear it any longer."

Sarah and Kate gazed at her in silence.

" You, Sarah, told a lie with the most generous motives, but I concealed what I knew, and that's

unforgiveable. . . . It was my husband, Sarah, not yours who was guilty. I found it out soon afterwards, but I kept it to myself. I was too ashamed to admit it to anyone. It wasn't because I feared for Alec's reputation. It was the indignity of it! And when you told us, Sarah, that you were sure it was Tom, I . . . I let it be."

Her voice broke. She could not continue. She buried her face in her hands.

"I understand you, Josephine. I forgive you," said Sarah, laying her hand gently on Josephine's arm, and comforting her.

"And you, Kate?"

"I forgive you, I forgive you, Josephine, of course . . . easily, easily," whispered Kathleen, in a voice quivering with emotion. "But how did you find it out? Tell us," she continued.

"You don't know how relieved I am that I've been able to tell you this, and that you've both forgiven me," said Josephine, when she had recovered herself, and looking the others in the face for the first time since she had unburdened her soul. "I feel a different woman. I can tell you everything now. I went through Alec's papers afterwards, and I found a letter there written to him by your husband, Sarah. It proved beyond doubt that there was a woman on board when the boat went down, and that she was there because of Alec."

"What was in the letter?" asked Kathleen.

"It was only a scribbled note, and I destroyed it soon afterwards, but the words of it are as clear in my mind now as they were when I first read it."

Josephine closed her eyes, and for the first time repeated aloud the bitter words that had lain close to her heart for so long:—

"Dear Alec,

I strongly disapprove of your idea of bringing 'Stella' on board *The Saucy Girl*. It's far too

dangerous, and it's asking for trouble. Surely you have sufficient self-control to keep this sort of thing for a more suitable occasion.

Ever yours,

TOM."

" Those were the exact words," went on Josephine. " And now, thank God, I've told you all I know."

And she heaved a great sigh of relief.

She had been truly and unreservedly sincere, probably for the first time in her life, but now that the crisis was over she soon settled down again into the prim, proper and tightly-laced little person that she had always been.

" So Tom knew about it, at any rate," said Sarah.

" He must have done," said Josephine.

" And he didn't seem to worry about the deceit, but only the danger, the risk of discovery," went on Sarah, thoughtfully.

" And your husband, Guy, must have been a party to it, too," she added, turning to Kathleen.

But Kathleen did not reply.

" But, after all," continued Sarah, after a pause, " what does it matter now which of our husbands was unfaithful to us? They've all been dead and gone for years, so is the woman. The only people left on earth who remember anything about it are we three, and it is only between the three of us that things have to be settled now. That's true, isn't it, Kate? "

" Only between us three now," said Kathleen.

Again there was silence. The fire was dying down, but an occasional gleam still lighted up the faces of the old women. It was growing colder in the room. Instinctively they drew closer to each other. Each of them seemed buried deep in thought. Sarah and Josephine did not notice how pale Kathleen had become and how her breathing had quickened. No one could have guessed what a turmoil was going on in the mind

of this frail widow of sixty-eight, and that she, too, had a secret.

"It's only between us three now," she repeated, but this time there was such a strange tremor in her voice that the other two looked up sharply.

"Sarah, Josephine," continued Kathleen, almost in a whisper, "I must tell you what I've been keeping back, too. But I can't ask your forgiveness . . . I dare not!"

"You, too, Kate!"

The other two looked at her in amazement.

"We'll forgive you, Kate, whatever it is," said Sarah, sympathetically. "Won't we, Josephine?"

"We'll forgive you, Kate," echoed Josephine, happy to be in a position to forgive anyone.

"Hear first, and then . . . forgive if you can," went on Kathleen, trying to control her voice.

"First, I must tell you that I have positive proof that there was no woman on board when the yawl went down."

"Why didn't you tell us, then?" asked Josephine.

"Wait a moment," continued Kathleen. "I am also certain that a woman did go on board the night before while it lay in Portsmouth harbour, and that the night watchman was right. I have positive proof, I tell you," she went on, "that the woman spent that night on board with Alec and Tom, and that she secretly left first thing in the morning. My husband, and he alone, was blameless. You will remember that Guy was away on business, and didn't arrive on board until the afternoon of the following day."

"You knew all this, and never told us?" said Sarah, unable to believe it. "How did you get to know it?"

"And what on earth could have made you keep it from us, especially as it would definitely clear your husband's name?" put in Josephine.

"Both of you had good reasons to withhold your secrets, hadn't you?"

"And you?"

"You two had others to think of," said Kathleen, quickly, desperately. "I had myself, because . . . I was the woman! I was 'Stella.' That was the secret name which Alec gave me. Now you know all. I was the woman!"

"The mistress of my husband?" gasped Josephine.

"Yes," said Kate, simply, "for two years."

"And all this was countenanced by Tom?" asked Sarah.

"He found it out—but, Sarah—oh, I must tell you all now—I had to pay a price for his silence."

"So Tom, too, was——"

"Ah, don't say any more, Sarah . . . Yes, he, too."

Sarah and Josephine sat staring at Kathleen, dumbfounded.

"I deceived you both," went on Kathleen, in a voice tense with emotion, "as cruelly, as heartlessly as it's possible for one woman to deceive another. I know that I haven't the slightest right to expect your forgiveness, but yet, in spite of that," and her eyes filled with tears as she spoke, "I beg you, I implore you both to . . . to relieve me a little of the burden, the pain that's been crushing me all these years! . . . None of us can alter the past now, terrible as it is. It's only between us three that things have still to be settled. When you said that, Sarah, I knew that the whole truth would have to be told before any of us die. . . . Forgive me, Josephine, Sarah . . . forgive me!"

There was no reply. Kate gazed imploringly at the other two, who now sat staring into the fireplace with heads bowed.

There was a long pause.

At last Kate took this as a gesture of consent, of affirmation. Forgiveness of such a kind was so great that it could hardly be expressed in words. The very fact that the other two did not seize her by the throat at once and strangle her, that they said nothing and

only lowered their heads, was for her sufficient proof that they had forgiven her. At least she hoped desperately, wildly, that it might be so! . . .

And presently she, too, gazed into the fireplace.

Once more there was silence. It was now almost dark outside, and the fire had died down into ashes. The white-haired widows sat before the hearth, three withered survivals of three types of women—the generous free-thinker, the prim social-climber, the beautiful, gay wanton—all once so different and now all practically levelled, brought into line, as it were, in preparation for the final levelling that was so near to them all.

A cold breath of air, as if from the grave, found its way through a chink in the windows or beneath the door, and drew a sudden last flicker from the embers. The old women shivered, their wizened bodies shrank within their clothing, but not one of them stirred to re-kindle the fire. They preferred to let the old embers die out and to remain staring in silence at the ashes as the darkness drew on.

It was better so.

Some Comments on the Trade Agreements

By Herbert G. Williams, M.P.

AT the moment of writing there are available the Trade Agreements concluded between this country and Germany, Denmark, and Argentina.* These agreements provide a useful opportunity for considering what has been and, alternatively, what might have been the approach to the problem of converting the United Kingdom from substantially a free trade country to one with a comprehensive policy of protection.

At the moment of the introduction of a general protective policy it is obviously important that the foreign competitors should be taken by surprise so that no time may be available for anticipatory dumping. By the curious chance of circumstances it was not possible to do this, because the Government elected in October 1931, had not, prior to the election, decided upon its fiscal policy, but on the other hand, foreign nations interpreted the result of the election as a decision in favour of protection, and their manufacturers promptly proceeded to flood our markets in anticipation of the introduction of the tariff. This action on the part of foreigners forced the hands of the Government to a preliminary decision in the form of the Abnormal Importations Act, but before this could become operative a great deal of harm had been done. In many cases months had to elapse before the tariff could bring any advantage, and the situation was made worse by the existence in this country of large stocks of unsold foreign goods. The rate of duty actually fixed under the orders made under the Abnormal Importations Act, namely, 50 per cent., was higher than that which any protectionist had contemplated, and in most cases was certainly higher than was desirable. When,

* Probably by the time this article is printed there will also have been published the agreements with Norway and Sweden, but in respect of them no information is yet available.

finally, in January, the Government came to a decision on fiscal policy, which involved the famous " agreement to differ," it would seem that more time had been spent on seeking the support of the free traders in the Cabinet than had been devoted to the problem of considering the right form in which to introduce the tariff.

The provisions in the Act for tariff relations with foreign countries could not be made fully effective so long as with practically all foreign countries we had treaties containing the most-favoured-nation clause in its unconditional form. Though the actual phrasing varies, the following is the typical example :—

> Articles produced or manufactured in the territories of one of the contracting parties, imported into the territories of the other, from whatever place arriving, shall not be subjected to other or higher duties or charges than those paid on the like articles produced or manufactured in any other foreign country.

So long as we were bound in this way it was manifest that we could not bargain with full effectiveness with foreign countries, either for the purpose of giving special and exclusive advantages to those who were prepared to treat us correspondingly, nor, where we desired, for coercing countries whose tariffs were unduly oppressive to our export trade.

It is a little curious to observe that to-day practically all the well-known advocates of protection, and equally all the well-known advocates of free trade, agree that as we are a protectionist country we ought to get rid of the unconditional most-favoured-nation clause. My own view is that we should denounce the most-favoured-nation clause in all our treaties and offer in place of it a conditional clause drafted somewhat in the following form :—

> No arrangement that either country may enter into with any other foreign country shall have the effect of diminishing the advantages to either of the parties of the present agreement, but either country may extend any of the provisions of this agreement to any other foreign country. Nevertheless, this shall not debar either country offering to any other foreign country terms more

> favourable than those specified in this agreement, subject to these terms being also offered to the other country that is a party to this agreement. These further advantages shall be extended gratuitously if the concession in favour of the third foreign country shall have been gratuitous or on giving as nearly as possible the same compensations or equivalent in case the concession shall have been conditional.

I do not profess to be an expert on the drafting of treaties, and it may well be the case that substantial criticism could be brought against the exact form of my suggestion. Nevertheless, what I contemplate can, I think, be expressed clearly.

First of all, we should build up an effective system of tariffs, graduated to suit the circumstances of each commodity and containing far more specific duties than are at present the case, because it is obvious that specific duties are a much more efficient weapon against price-cutting than *ad valorem* duties. On the other hand, on account of the wide range of value in relation to quantity in respect of many commodities, a purely specific system of duties would be unsuitable, and in many cases we should need a combination of specific and *ad valorem* duties. In general, also the tariff system should be designed to accord definitely rather more protection than was regarded as essential. This would be called our General Tariff. There would then be constructed an Intermediate Tariff in accordance with some general formula relating it to the General Tariff. The Intermediate Tariff would be offered on suitable terms to any country that cared to make a commercial agreement with us.

Finally, there would be the Imperial Tariff, in which there would be on the free list certainly all those goods that we could not produce at all in this country, as well as many of those of which it was clear that we could never produce more than a fraction of our needs, while in respect of the remainder the rate of duty would again be fixed by some appropriate formula to bear a suitable relation to the rates in the Intermediate Tariff.

It seems obvious that if our approach to the problem of trade agreements with foreign countries had been on the lines suggested above, our task would have been much easier. It would probably have been desirable to postpone for some time our negotiations with foreign countries until we had placed our tariff system on a thoroughly scientific basis. We should, moreover, have accorded effective protection to our own industries, where they needed it, from Empire competition, while at the same time the question of any consultation with industries in this country as to the sacrifices they had to make in trade agreements would have been quite avoided, because every industry would have known its place in the Intermediate Tariff, and the purpose of all negotiations would have been to secure advantages from foreign countries in return for according their goods the privileges of the Intermediate Tariff.

As events have turned out we have not negotiated under the favourable conditions just described, and each country with which we have negotiated knew that any advantages which we gave to it would automatically be granted to the rest of the world, and equally knew that any retaliatory measures directed against it would equally have to be directed simultaneously against all other countries and, accordingly, the fears of such retaliation were slight.

When Mr. Runciman claimed for himself in the House of Commons that he thought he was as good a bargainer as anybody else, he was probably speaking the truth, and many of those who were critical of his bargains were not criticizing his capacity to bargain, but the fact that he entered into negotiations without having in advance equipped himself with the means of using fully his own great talents.

To turn now to the agreements themselves. It is obvious that in the space of an article of this length we cannot attempt a really critical analysis and can only comment in fairly general terms. From the nature of the

case the agreement with Germany is the one which was the most severely criticized, and, owing to the circumstances that it involved legislation, the one that was most easy to deal with from the Parliamentary point of view. Under that agreement the only concession we obtain is a guarantee that our exports of coal to Germany shall in future be something above the present level and roughly equal to what they were during the whole of 1932, but far below what they have been in any ordinary year for many years past. This does not represent a very marked concession to us by a country which last year sold us far more goods than she bought from us, even when we included in her purchases large amounts of goods previously imported into the United Kingdom from other countries. In order to gain the one dubious concession in respect of coal we agreed to reduce very substantially our duties on a considerable range of commodities, some of them goods which had enjoyed the protection of the McKenna Duties for many years past, and other goods which have only recently enjoyed protection under the Import Duties Act. So far as the latter are concerned, it is only quite recently that the Import Duties Advisory Committee has recommended the protection that it was thought they ought to have. If I have interpreted correctly the purport of what Mr. Runciman said in the House of Commons, the recommendations of the Import Duties Advisory Committee represent the bare minimum of protection likely to produce the desired results and contain, accordingly, no margin for reduction. Nevertheless, since we are still bound by the most-favoured-nation treaties we are compelled to extend to all the world the concessions we have given to Germany, and for which we receive only the solitary and inadequate concession in respect of coal.

When we come to consider the agreements with Denmark and Argentina we are dealing with problems markedly different. Germany and the United Kingdom are active industrial competitors, whereas Denmark and

the Argentine are competitors of our agriculture and customers of our industries. Naturally our freedom of bargaining with both these countries was limited and properly limited by the Ottawa Agreements. Under these circumstances, Denmark and Argentina were aware in advance that there were a number of commodities in respect of which they could expect no reduction of our duties. Our trade relationships with both these countries have been of a very one-sided character. Both of them sell us far more than they buy from us. In the case of Denmark the ratio is four to one, and it is certain that her payments to us for services, that is to say, our " invisible " exports to her, cannot be large. In respect of Argentina the ratio of imports to exports is in the neighbourhood of five to one, but in her case our invisible exports are large, both in respect of the interest on British investments in the Argentine and of shipping and insurance services. Both of these countries have used the net credit balance of their trading transactions with us to buy large quantities of goods from countries that are not large purchasers of their goods and, under these circumstances, it was clearly our duty to make it quite plain to both of them that they could only expect any kind of future favourable consideration in our market provided that they diverted much of their present expenditure in other countries to us.

As I read the agreements neither of them is sufficiently satisfactory. The initial criticisms of the agreements with Denmark and Argentina were largely criticisms that came from the British agricultural community who thought at first sight that the terms accorded to these countries in our markets in respect of agricultural products were too favourable and, accordingly, that British agriculture might be prejudiced. The Minister of Agriculture, Major Elliot, succeeded in satisfying a considerable section of the agriculturists, and by so doing eliminated a good deal of the opposition that might otherwise have been experienced. It is not easy to come

to a final conclusion on this matter, but personally I still remain somewhat dubious. The very considerable satisfaction with which the agreements have been received in agricultural circles in Denmark and Argentina indicates that they are still going to enjoy such a large share of our market that our farmers obviously are still to experience from both of them an undue degree of competition.

It is when we turn to the other side of the agreements that there is definitely less reason for satisfaction. Such tariff concessions as Denmark and Argentina give to us they give equally to the rest of the world and, therefore, we have no assurance that British goods will have any better chance in future of obtaining a larger share of their markets. It is true that in the case of Denmark there is a specific quantitative concession in respect of coal, which is certainly an improvement on the arrangement made with Germany, and there are the subsidiary direct arrangements made between commercial bodies in both countries, endorsed in the Danish agreement, which will have the effect of bringing material advantages to certain of our industries. Nevertheless, it does not appear that the Danish agreement can largely redress the enormous adverse balance of trade with Denmark.

In respect of the agreement with Argentina it must be borne in mind that there is to be a supplementary agreement in respect of tariffs, and until this has been concluded it is not possible to come to a final judgment on the present agreement. They undertake to return to the tariff level which prevailed in 1930, subject, however, to certain limitations which may whittle away this concession, and in any event, it is presumed that the same concession will be given to all foreign countries and, therefore, we do not gain any preferential advantage in exchange for the assurance that we shall continue importing enormous quantities of her main export, namely, chilled beef. The financial provisions of the Argentina agreement seem a little generous on our part. Though Argentina sells here far more than she buys from us, even

taking into account our invisible exports, nevertheless, as the result of the exchange control in Argentina we have not been receiving payments due to us, no doubt very largely because the money we should have been receiving has been used to buy the products of other countries. Argentina undertakes to release a small amount of exchange forthwith, apparently for the purpose of dealing with a great number of small commercial accounts, and in respect of the rest she is to raise a loan in the United Kingdom, in order that the British creditors may be paid off. This transaction seems to be of more advantage to the banking community than to the manufacturing community. Obviously in due course this loan to pay existing debts will have to be paid off and during the period of repayment our exporting capacity will be reduced to the extent of the annual instalments, and in the meantime to the extent of the interest. On the other hand, the banking community will have liberated a number of frozen credits and will gain from the floating of the new loan. So far as the future exchange control is concerned we are given no preferences over other countries, but merely most-favoured-nation treatment. On the other hand, it is only fair to say that there appears to be a general undertaking that the future exchange control shall take into account the balance of trade between the two countries. One characteristic of both the agreements is that we definitely retain meat on the free list for the duration of the agreements, and those of us who believe that protection by means of tariffs has real advantages over protection by means of quantitative control will be debarred from using that method while the agreements are in operation.

This is not the occasion, nor have I the space here, to present the considered body of reasoned arguments which exist against quantitative control except in very special circumstances. I believe, however, that inherent in quantitative control are a number of very grave dangers of a kind that most of its advocates have obviously

not yet considered. Apart from these it must be remembered that if this country once again has a Socialist Government the system of quantitative control will place at its disposal the simplest possible method of introducing a very undesirable system of nationalized Import Boards.

Finally, may I say that while the agreements contain some advantages for us, nevertheless, I do not think that they are adequate to the situation, and I think we have unwisely tied ourselves in a way that will prevent, for the time being, the full development of both our domestic and Imperial economic systems.

Industrial Society and Conservative Principles

[*An address delivered to the English Review Luncheon Club on the 22nd of March*, 1933.]

By W. S. Morrison, M.P.

WHEN I reflect on the distinguished guests we have had at these luncheons, I feel a little abashed at the temerity I displayed in accepting this invitation to address you. We have been honoured with addresses from Ministers and ex-Ministers who have, out of their experience, enlightened us on one topic or another. It would ill behove a mere pip-squeak of a back-bencher to open his mouth on a stage made glorious by their thunders without a few words of apology for his intrusion.

But in some ways the back-bencher is at a slight advantage. He has no past to arise and clutch him by the heel. No one has ever noted a word he has said save the dispassionate scribes of Hansard who sit up aloft in Olympian detachment like those gods of whom Tennyson says that " they sit and smile in secret "—

> For they smile, they find a music centred in a doleful song,
> Steaming up, a lamentation and an ancient tale of wrong,
> Like a tale of little meaning, though the words are strong.

The Press passes him by, with " Mr. M. continued the debate," or " after speeches by several Hon. Members, the closure was moved and carried by 612 votes to three." So he passes his days and nights, relegated by unanimous consent to obscurity and oblivion. Which very obscurity is, as I am suggesting to you, as useful to the back-bencher on an occasion like this as the cloak of darkness was to Perseus when he encountered the Medusa. Not that I am comparing you to that unattractive female. You are much more good-natured and more beautiful.

So it is as a back-bencher that I am speaking, with no past—and probably no future. Enough for the mayfly

the glitter of the present. It is of that present that I would speak, for this is the time that counts. The errors of the past will be healed, the victories of the past will be consolidated, the perils of the future will be avoided and the opportunities of the future will be realized, if only we can see, in this present time, the way to act right.

It is not so easy for the poor politician to see what is right. His difficulties arise from the defective state of his intelligence, on the one hand, and the multitude of his problems on the other. He knows, from daily iteration in the Press, that God has made him a little lower than the journalists, and the knowledge is not comforting to him when he gazes out on a strange and troubled scene. This brave new world which he has inherited is a wonderful estate, but it is heavily encumbered. His ancestors have lived royally, have handed him a great tradition, but also a lot of debts, to pay the interest on which takes about twice as much a year as the whole pre-war expenditure of his father. To add to his difficulties, he has not got his father's income wherewith to meet five times his father's expenses. Worst of all, little of what his father taught him seems to give any clue to things, because things are changing so rapidly. Politicians are rather like game-shots. They shoot at a moving target. The trouble is that the bird flies so fast, certainly so much faster than it looks, that the shot is generally yards behind. Events to-day are undoubtedly moving rapidly, especially in the world of economics, and the very speed of this apparent movement leads one nurtured in Tory principles to suspect that we are not looking at the right things. You cannot see a travelling motor-car if you attempt to fix your eyes on a certain spot on the revolving wheel, any more than you can judge the direction of modern political movements by following with strained attention each flicker of the dissolving view called economics. The parallel holds further, for the spot on the wheel always returns to the same place, relative to the rest of the wheel, though the car has moved forwards

unperceived, and it will be found that the economic facts of life will return, after furious whirlings, to the same relative position to each other and to the rest of truth, which is quite outside economics. Meanwhile society, like John Brown's soul, "goes marching on."

It is easy to apply Conservative principles to the country-side where they arose into being. The industry of agriculture with its long tradition focusses the mind of every one engaged in it on the relation between cause and effect. "As a man sows, so shall he reap" means more to an agricultural labourer than to a university don. It is an industry of long views, however short the rotation of crops may be in any particular district. The art is one which has been practised a long time. The difficulty comes when one attempts to translate Conservative principles to the industrial form of society. The relation between cause and effect is not so apparent in every-day life. The views are shorter and industry has been practised on the modern scale for too short a time to give mankind the chance of combining it with a definite structure of civilization.

The politics of the rural area proceeded inside an accepted framework of society. No such framework has had time to be constructed in the towns. The politics of the towns have consequently degenerated into economics. And as England has become more and more urban and industrial this degeneracy has affected the whole of our politics. For about a century we have exalted the economist to a position which he is quite unable to sustain. No doubt, economic thought is a very useful branch of human activity. But for a great nation to rule itself by the advice of economists is as sensible as for a private citizen to accept as final, in all matters of conduct and taste, the advice of his grocer. Nay, it is worse; for the grocers agree as to the language of their trade and as to the end which they seek. But the economists have not even agreed to a common speech and their conclusions vary, according to their schools, more widely

than does Hindu from Mohammedan. The last century was one in which science rightly gained vast respect. It was natural that when economics was called a science—even " the dismal science "—that men should give it the acclaim of the great family with which it claimed kinship, But economics is not, and never has been, a science. It exhibits nothing of that basis of commonly agreed knowledge which distinguishes, say, chemistry or physics, as a science. It has never been able to predict with any accuracy. Its conclusions are still in the realm of opinion; and you may take your choice of a wide variety of opinions, according to the general thesis you wish to support.

That is the position which your back-bencher has to face. He receives so much contrary advice from economists, bankers, merchants and industrialists as to how society should be organized, that he is forced to the conclusion that these upright men are not thinking about society at all, but about economic theory, banking, commerce and industry, respectively. Meanwhile, there is the forgotten man, with his instincts for society and other activities, not comprehended in the catalogue of economics, banking, commerce and industry. Nor can it be said that, even within the restricted field of money-making matters, those professors have been entirely successful or consistent. We used to be told that we should buy in the cheapest market. Now we hear an equally insistent clamour for a rise in commodity prices. But recently we were told that the great function of gold was to maintain foreign exchanges at par. Now we see the metal sought eagerly and strictly hoarded for the purpose of preventing currencies from the evil fate of reaching par of exchange.

It is this reversal of some of the accepted canons which makes your back-bencher view with suspicion those of them which remain. Take, for example, the effect of modern machinery upon employment. Every new process seems to put men out of work. Our artisans

are becoming machine-minders—and women can mind machines as well as men. Consequently you get a rise in female employment and a disastrous fall in the number of men at work. If you come to think of it, the object of machines is to put men out of work. That is why they are invented and installed. They succeed admirably in their purpose.

Now, our fathers taught us that we need not be afraid of the machines. For every man they have put out of work, they have given jobs to two. The last century saw a great increase in machines and, at the same time, a vast expansion of the employed population. It would be splendid if we could believe that the same comfortable doctrine would hold to-day and not go the same way as the cheapness doctrine and the gold doctrine. But the standardizing of goods and the immense increase in the productive energy of modern machines produces a state of affairs which is not that of last century. Silk stockings for the ladies and safety razors for the men are produced to-day in abundance. But because the machine is doing the work, the man is not employed, he cannot afford silk stockings for his family and his face must revert to its primitive jungle. Most of all are the Socialists bewildered by the turn which events are taking. Their creed depends at bottom on the assumption that all wealth is created by the working classes. More's the pity, it is now created by machines. The clever fellows, the inventors, rationalizers and mass-production experts have so developed their control over inanimate nature that if, in the old way, you measure a man's worth by his capacity to provide goods or services, the ordinary citizen seems not worth his keep. The machine can do it so much better and cheaper. Which is absurd, for man is still the most important thing in civilization. The machine can produce everything except ideas.

Where we have gone wrong is in applying economic standards in gauging the worth of men, and this mistake is but part of the greater error of this age. We have

worshipped, not so much false gods, as heads of departments. Now that even the very departments themselves are in confusion, there may be a chance for us to return to more traditional shrines.

The problem which faces us is how to make life pleasant in an urban community. Here we can take a lesson by comparing the condition of workers in the town with those in what remains of the country. It is unquestionably true that country life seems to give more satisfaction to the workers than does town life to the millions of factory hands, not to speak of the unemployed. The reason seems to lie in the greater degree to which the countryman possesses the priceless attribute of status. The village carpenter is a working man, like his brother in the furniture factory. Of the two the countryman probably makes less money. But, judging from political manifestations, he seems the more contented of the two. After making due allowance for the better health of the countryman, his freedom from noise and other superior amenities, there remains some further attraction about his life which must be explained if we are to account for his greater degree of cheerfulness. I think the answer lies in the extent to which the village carpenter, as compared to the factory hand, has the knowledge that he is essential to the life of his community. He may be but a carpenter, but it may fall to his lot to screw the lid on the squire's coffin. He is probably also the village plumber, and if the rector's water-pipes freeze up, it is he alone who can repair the damage. He has that sense of public importance which is status, more precious to mankind than money.

The townsman suffers from lack of status. He does his best to repair the lack in a variety of ways. The more monotonous the working life, the more do other expedients for achieving status thrive. In Lancashire this thirst for status breaks out violently in the form of brass bands. The man who feeds a machine all day, feels he must do something to show his manhood if he is not to burst.

He must blow strongly into a brazen instrument. There he fills for an hour a place as a man in harmony with his fellows in that curious blend of free individual effort, for an end not his own, which is the secret of civilization and—I like to think—the spirit of Toryism. Even if he have no more to do, during a long and confusing overture, than to strike one stroke upon the triangle—in army language he " waits for it." That is the supreme moment in which he achieves status. Without him, the efforts of his fellows would fail of completeness.

Pigeon clubs, Freemasons, Buffaloes, Oddfellows (with the emphasis on " odd "—in other words, not whelmed in the mass) are all manifestations of a thwarted humanity seeking comfort. But all this is achieved in leisure. It would be better if it could be achieved in work.

Sir Henry Maine told us that progress hitherto has consisted in the advance from status to contract. The facts of humanity belie the generalization. In industrial disputes workers break contracts, not really for more wages, but in order to show the employer that they also have status. The acute aphorism symbolizes the error of the age and shows why we have gone so far wrong in worshipping economists. Many a good man is totally devoid of the ability to drive a hard bargain. Yet, by present standards, he is denied status and feels that industrialism has played him a dirty trick.

Therefore, in attempting to solve the difficulties which lie before us, it seems almost time we should make some attempt to give the town worker what he wants, which is status; and certain things out of the fog appear clear for the Conservative. He must be opposed to socialism which is the negation of status. He must recognize and nurture the desire for a diffusion of private ownership of property. But he must be prepared to recognize the foes of private property. It is not for nothing that the printer, when one writes " rationalization " transforms the word into " nationalization." The

idea underlying both processes is the same. They are equally slumps away from status and a free society. The Conservative should take advantage of electrical energy, which renders it unnecessary for workpeople to congregate under one roof in order to tap mechanical power. He should favour the small producer.

He must favour protection by tariffs and quotas, for it is more important that men, heads of households, should have the status of remunerative work than that the Board of Trade should publish returns showing an increase in the country's wealth without explanation of how that wealth is distributed. He must not be afraid of Mammonite criticisms of his policy because he does not seek the same ends as his critics.

He must preserve the basic unit of status and civilization, which is the family. On that foundation great structures have rested solidly. When the family decays, chaos ensues.

He must, finally, be one who supports religion as the expression of the true nature of man, the everlasting challenge to all forces which would deny to humanity a significance other than merely economic. It is only from that mountain-peak that liberty, equality and fraternity can be discerned.

A Countryman's Diary

By A. G. Street (Author of "Farmer's Glory")

April 18th.

RETURNED home to-day from a delightful week-end at Ashridge. Whenever I go to lecture there I impress on my family that I am going away to toil, but in reality I look on it as a most pleasant holiday. Easter there this year in almost summerlike weather will take some beating, and as always everyone there conspired to make the holiday pleasant for everybody else. The lectures were on widely different subjects but I noticed that they had one thing in common. In almost every case the desirability for an early solution to the monetary problem cropped up.

April 19th.

There's no peace for the wicked apparently. I had to catch the first train to town to-day to get up in time for the morning broadcast, but I managed to get my business done in time to catch the three o'clock train, which got me back home in time to have a look round my farm. I had a walk over the proposed sugar beet ground. It wasn't quite as good a job as I like, so I decided to roll it and dress it once more on the morrow.

April 20th.

We tackled the sugar beet field to-day, and left it much more to my liking. The weather has changed back to winter, the Blackthorn winter. I hope it will change again before long. We've had a dry time for some weeks now, and unless we get some warmer weather in the near future coupled with some warm rain, there won't be much of a hay crop.

April 22nd.

Still cold and dry, but the weather's on the work, so we drilled the sugar beet this morning. For once the Clerk of the Weather was on my side, for it settled in to

rain steadily after tea. I went to bed rather pleased that I had not put off sowing until after Monday.

April 24th.

We've had a nice wet week-end, and it is still raining. I decided that the rain would do more good on the land than I should, so I spent most of the day at farm accounts and some scribbling.

April 25th.

Still raining, but a cheerful lot of farmers in Salisbury market. In this district warm rain in late April and May is very helpful to all crops. It ensures the growth of a bulk of produce. From June onwards we shall be well content if the townsfolk bask in brilliant sunshine for the remainder of the summer. If this happens they will be happy, and our produce will mature and ripen into first class quality.

April 27th.

Not much news of the milk scheme lately except that the Wiltshire N.F.U. have decided to give it their support. This is significant as Wiltshire does not appear to be placed in a favourable region under the proposed division, but rather the reverse, especially considering its relative importance in the London milk supply. Naturally the scheme has its critics in the county, but these are a help and not a hindrance. The large majority of Wiltshire farmers realize two things: Firstly, that to cry for protection on manufactured milk products with no state control or organization is to cry for the moon; and secondly that they would much rather face next season's milk production with the Ministry of Agriculture as an active ally than face it unaided with the Ministry as a rather bored spectator of the fight.

April 28th.

I have crocked my knee, and have been advised by a doctor to sell my car and buy a bicycle. I pleaded that

I hadn't time to ride a bicycle, whereupon I was read a lecture to the effect that the use of cars for each and every journey would eventually result in my becoming an obese lame old man. Good advice is seldom palatable. However I have taken this in part. I've bought a bicycle but I haven't sold my car; there are limits.

April 29th.

I've been reading some reports on mechanized farming, and naturally all of them deal with mechanical devices for use in the various branches of farming. It occurs to me that plants and animals might also be described as the machinery of farming. To grass down an arable field and thereby produce more pounds' worth of produce per acre while employing less labour is surely very akin to using the combine harvester or installing the milking machine. Anyway, why is it that the farmer is not treated by popular opinion in the same way as the manufacturer in connection with mechanization? If Sir W. Morris mechanizes or re-organizes a department of his business and so reduces his labour costs everybody applauds. The papers point out that this type of business man has made England, that he is a captain of industry, an Empire builder, etc., and I thoroughly agree. But if I, as a farmer, effect a similar change in my business, everybody says, " Look at him, the dirty dog. It shouldn't be allowed." And if I don't use modern methods they say, " How can you expect farming to pay when it is run on such old-fashioned and out-of-date lines? " Verily a farmer's lot is not a happy one these days.

May 1st.

Now that the cows have plenty of grass and require no hay the outdoor dairy hands have a little free time. We are using this to get our haymaking machinery into trim, for haymaking will be here very quickly. We have a new tool for use this season—a two-seater

Chrysler car, which we are fitting up with a sweep—yet another Hosier gadget. My pupil eyes the car affectionately. He will have plenty of opportunities next month to court her. I hope that this apparent love will grow into something really worth while during a sunny June. If so, it will be yet another case of "Love on Wheels."

May 2nd.

I was admiring the colours of a large wood in the distance to-day. In the Spring the colour changes come in waves. First the black shadow of the wood changes to purple, almost red, when all the buds swell up and their casing turns red. Then as they burst there comes a wave of yellow over the wood like a veil, and finally this changes to varying shades of green, which become denser and denser as the summer advances. Nature's fashions in dress are exactly opposite to those of the human race. In Winter she goes naked, and in the heat of summer she wears her heaviest clothing.

May 4th.

Wilton Sheep and Cattle Fair. Not so large as in years ago but still an important agricultural fixture. Even this has been mechanized. Nowadays it is almost impossible to travel sheep along the roads, so most of them ride to and from fair in motor lorries. Some of these, the double-deckers, will take a hundred sheep in a load. Prices were up from last Fall, and I should imagine that farmers who bought in sheep to winter got a fair profit out of the business. Cattle were also a fair trade, and one wonders whether this hardening in live-stock prices is due to recent political action or to the fact that keep is plentiful in the district. Let me be generous and say that both these factors have caused it.

May 6th.

I had a curious question put to me by a farmer to-day in connection with the proposed marketing schemes.

"Is there any desire on the part of the powers that be to use these schemes for organized marketing to restrict production?" He went on to say that, in his opinion, to use them for this purpose would be treachery. When I think of our enormous bill for imported foodstuffs, and our present financial condition, I heartily agree with him, but his query has caused me furiously to think. We have been told to organize our production and marketing, and we shall do so. I feel tempted to quote Sir Trustram Eve: "Volume follows faith."

May 8th.

Most of the pleasurable things in life happen unexpectedly. I cycled over to call on a farmer friend some six miles away this evening—sheer virtue, the cycling, for which there was ample reward. My friend suggested that we should call and have a chat with an old shepherd in the next village, and he motored me over. We found our man busy gardening. He is seventy-three, but he has a youthful mind and a twinkle in his eye. We went out to look at his flock, and he told us that a vixen had killed one of his lambs the night before. "But I 'ad a minit er two to spare this atternoon, an' I drawed up round the down. An' I've a vound the beggar. I bain't gwaine to keep thease vlock fer 'er 'obby. 'Tis she er I, an' tidn' gwaine to be I. She'll ha' to be moved." So we drove him up to the top of the down, and helped him to stink out the earth. During the evening he talked of his experiences. He has an intimate view of Wiltshire farming over the past sixty years. I asked him how he liked his flock of grass sheep, as he used to be one of the leading Hampshire Down shepherds. "Oh, they do do pretty well. You zee, you got to move wie the times. Tidn' no manner o' use moanin'. Arable be gone out, an' grass be come in. You cain't blame a varmer fer grassin' down ground an' doin' wie less men. Stands to reason, ef a varmer do take less, 'ee got less to pay out. But, Lard bless 'ee, things be allus changin'.

I kin mind the zeventies when the varmers wur ketchin' atter varms. Then come the nineties when the landlords couldn' let 'em no 'ow. Then atter the Boer war an' right up till a vew year ago, varmin' paid money, an' now tis a poor job agin. But I bain't a wold man, I be but zeventy-three, an' I be vairish. I 'low I shall zee it come agen." I hope he's right, and I hope I shall be as young in mind and body as he is, when I am seventy-three.

May 9th.

I walked over the sugar beet field this morning. The seeds are coming up nicely, but the ground is very loose, much too loose. It has rained a little almost every day recently, and we have not been able to roll it. I have to go to town to-morrow, so I left word with the dairyman to roll it at the first opportunity.

May 12th.

Another visit to the sugar beet. The rolling has been done, and I can see the drills up across the field. Flat-hoeing shall begin on Monday, weather permitting.

May 15th.

The drowner, the dairy folk, and my pupil have started flat-hoeing the sugar beet. Funny what an attraction this little bit of arable farming has for me. It is relatively a very small and unimportant part of my farming this year, but I shall put in more time inspecting this field and worrying over it than any other part of my farm. This doesn't bear logical argument, but there it is.

China's Alleged Progress

By J. O. P. Bland

IF all the findings of the Lytton Commission on the Manchurian question, and all the arguments of the Japanese government, are carefully weighed, and the matter reduced to its simplest expression, it will be found that the position ultimately adopted by the League of Nations in endorsing the Lytton Report involves acceptance of the Commission's recorded opinion, that the condition of China in 1932 showed a considerable improvement over that which existed when the Powers subscribed to the Washington Treaties in 1922. The wisdom of the League in this matter must eventually be justified or falsified by the course of events in China; sooner or later, the cumulative weight of irrefutable evidence will prove whether the Government of Japan was, or was not, entitled to assert, that the present condition of China is such as to preclude her from being regarded as an "organized State," within the meaning of the Covenant, and that she is therefore not entitled to claim the benefit of its protective clauses. In other words, the rights and wrongs of Japan's policy in regard to Manchuria must depend, in the last analysis, upon whether the Lytton Commission was right or wrong in declaring that during the past ten years China has achieved a measure of progress sufficient to justify the benevolent optimism which the Powers expressed in the Washington Treaties. Japan, against a whole world of opinion to the contrary, maintains that the Washington agreements were in the nature of an adventure in political idealism which has been stultified by events; she justifies the forcible measures taken to protect her legitimate interests in Manchuria by the fact that the "stable and effective" government of China, which the Washington policy was intended to produce, is a prospect even more remote to-day than it was in 1922. The issue between these two "schools of thought" and the policies based upon them is clear-cut and crucial; but it is evident that it

will not be finally solved until the world in general, and the League in particular, becomes possessed of fuller and more accurate knowledge in regard to China than that upon which the Lytton Report is based.

When, for example, Professor Gilbert Murray writes to *The Times* to plead for sympathy and support for "the devoted band of statesmen who are now attempting the restoration of Chinese social order," he is merely expressing, in its extreme form, the conviction which inspired the policy of the Washington agreements, and which has since determined the attitude of the League of Nations—the conviction that a Chinese Government, or group of politicians, which professes its belief in Western political ideals and democratic institutions, is, *ipso facto*, identified with progress. It is a conviction widely held in this country and America by those whose conception of present-day China is based upon cultural contacts with her Westernized Intelligentsia, and whose sympathy for the aspirations of this class ignores the pitiful condition to which the common people have been reduced and the real nature of the government administered by the leaders of the Kuomintang. Those who hold this conviction are naturally disposed to accept, without too closely examining, the evidence of the "progress," to which the Lytton Report bears testimony. The nature of that evidence, if carefully considered, will be found to consist, not of facts based on investigation, but only of vague generalizations. It is fairly summed up in the Commission's statement that the Nanking Government, although "still weak in a number of provinces," is not openly repudiated; that it has already accomplished much in its efforts for reconstruction; and that, if only it can be maintained, the country's "provincial administrations, military forces and finance will acquire an increasingly national character." This, it may be observed, is little more than a summary of the substance of the Kuomintang propaganda since 1922; it amounts, in effect, to the reiteration of the

Washington agreements' pious opinion that, given the continued sympathy and support of the Powers, Chiang Kai-shek and his colleagues may be expected to produce a truly united China under an enlightened government.

Much depends, of course, upon what is meant by the word "progress." In the political circles whose influence counts for so much at Geneva, it implies belief in the sincerity of the Nanking Government, when it applies to the League for the technical advice of experts to assist in the re-organization of the public services. At the same time, it implies the belief that Nanking's ceaseless promulgation of laws, regulations and codes, programmes and reform schemes, are seriously meant and capable of being applied to practical ends. But if "progress" be defined as the "kind of improvement which can be measured by statistics," then something more than a belief in the programmes and professions of Nanking's politicians must be produced in order to counterbalance the widespread evidence of administrative demoralization, to which the Lytton Commission also bears witness. It can serve no good purpose for Professor Gilbert Murray to declare that "the public health has been improved over many thousands of square miles," thanks to the exertions of the Public Health section of the League of Nations, or for the Dean of Canterbury to assert that "banditry is only an incident" in the orderly life of the industrious community, for everyone in China knows that such statements are pontifical nonsense. Despite the fact that neither the native Press nor foreign journals in China are free to comment on the actual conditions in China or to criticise the government, the main facts of the situation, as they affect the masses of the people, cannot be concealed and these are generally of a nature to justify a direct denial of the Lytton Commission's assertion that progress has been made during the past decade.

For those immediately affected, the peace-loving, hard-working peasantry, the only kind of progress that matters

is one which will curtail the activities of bandits, restore the channels of trade, and reduce the intolerable burdens of illegal taxation. The common people are in no wise concerned with the pretentious schemes of reform devised by Nanking for the edification of Geneva; the seventeen spectacular resolutions adopted by the Third Plenary Session of the Kuomintang, leave them cold. They know full well that none of these schemes are meant to be taken seriously by the native-born, that Mr. C. C. Wu's elaborate plans for the disbandment and civil employment of "surplus" troops have no more chance of being carried out than (*pace* Dame Adelaide Anderson) the new factory laws have of being seriously applied.

In the present severely restrained condition of the Press, native and foreign, in China, the outside world can learn comparatively little of the realities of the situation, of what goes on behind the scenes in the ceaseless struggle for supremacy and sources of revenue between the various provincial war-lords and political factions. There are, however, certain sources (notably Canton and Japan), from which a fair idea of the situation can often be obtained, and for those who can read between the lines, the government's own manifestos and mandates supply a good deal of information. Neither in these nor in any other quarter will the seeker after truth find confirmation of the progress discerned by the Lytton Commission. On the contrary, everything in the attitude and actions of Chiang Kai-shek and his colleagues of the Central Executive Committee, justifies the assertion that, while their methods of administration are no better and no worse than what experience would lead one to expect, their cynical self-seeking and reputed wealth are sufficient to justify the frank denunciations, and to explain the continual hostility, of their political opponents. The prospect of anything in the nature of effective national reorganization under these conditions is certainly no nearer to-day than it was ten years ago. Consider, for example, how completely the spokesmen of the Nanking

government have now dropped (except at Geneva) all pretensions to having achieved that unity which, five years ago, they proclaimed to the world as an accomplished fact. At present, so long as they can control the Customs, Salt and Opium revenues of the wealthiest Yangtsze provinces, they are quite content to let Canton go its independent way and that the North should look after itself; a frame of mind which accounts for the failure of Chiang Kai-shek to reinforce the Cantonese troops defending their position at Shanghai against the Japanese in February, 1932, or to support the Northern war lord's forces during the recent fighting in Manchuria. Chiang Kai-shek is, of course, careful to retain an effective superiority of armed forces over his opponents, but he and his colleagues have come to the wise conclusion that to employ them on active service, unless in self-defence, is waste of good money.

The attitude and proceedings of the Nanking Government, when confronted by the forcible measures taken by Japan, are typical and interesting, but scarcely suggestive of progress in the direction of an organized state. At the Third Plenary Session of the Kuomintang held in December last, proposals were discussed for a general " stiffening of armed resistance " and the concentration of troops at Jehol; to these Mr. Sun Fo (Sun Yat-sen's son) referred as " evidence of the single-minded unity of all China." Two months later, Chiang Kai-shek was still at Nanch[illegible] directing his campaign for the suppression of so-c[illegible] Communists. So far as Manchuria was concerned, [illegible] Government was content to confine its activities to the preparation of a National Conscription Law, together with a scheme for the purchase of 1,700 aeroplanes within the next six months, by means of " voluntary contributions " from the people—measures which, whatever their financial or political implications might be, were certainly never intended to produce either conscripts or aeroplanes. At the same time the Executive Council seized the occasion to announce its intention of removing the

Peking Palace treasures to Loyang, so as to safeguard them from a possible Japanese invasion; but this particular "reform" has been, to some extent, frustrated, because the prudent burghers of Peking are of opinion that the national treasures are safer in their own hands than in those of the Nanking Government.

Mr. Sun Fo, a very conspicuous member of the Central Executive Committee and the most active "stormy petrel" of South China politics, resembles his famous father in the fervour and eloquence of his exhortations to public virtue. On assuming office at the New Year, as President of the Legislative Council, he delivered himself of an appeal to the nation against the "selfishness and jealousy, the rivalries and scramble for power which have rendered reconstruction schemes impossible and aggravated the sufferings of the common people." He went on to attribute the Manchurian crisis and all China's many calamities, to the mutual suspicions and jealousies of the party leaders. He therefore advocated a "united national front" to be achieved by means of Constitutional government. This, coming from one of the most persistent secessionists of the southern faction, was never intended to convince a native audience; Mr. Sun Fo's eloquence was addressed partly to the United States (he being a graduate of Columbia) and partly to the wealthy Chinese communities overseas, which look to Canton to take the lead in Chinese affairs. It was, in fact, merely a move in the Cantonese political game, and Constitutional Government is as good a stick as any other to beat Nanking with. In the same way, Sun Yat-sen's widow, a bitter opponent of Chiang Kai-shek, has recently emerged with a League for Civil Rights, to demand for the people the liberties of the Press, free speech, and public meeting, together with the inviolability of the persons and property of citizens. Which again, is party politics and nothing more.

As befits the head of the Government, Chiang Kai-shek, conforming to immemorial usage, delivers himself

from time to time of highly moral mandates and declarations of his own unworthiness. At the end of December, he cheerfully declared that "the corruption and inefficiency of our domestic administration is one of the principal causes of China's troubles," and he exhorted "the whole nation to exert themselves to build up a sound and efficient civil government"; though he left it to others to explain how this is to be done so long as he and his henchmen remain in control. Many of the progressive reforms proclaimed either by his order, or by the Executive Committee, are obviously not intended to be anything but gestures for the benefit of that "uplifting" section of public opinion abroad, which Chiang Kai-shek uses skilfully for his own political ends, just as he used Comrade Borodin in 1925–26. No Chinese is either impressed or disturbed by mandates such as those which have recently declared concubinage to be illegal under the new Civil Code, abolished girl slavery, and put an end to usury by limiting the legal rate of interest to 20 per cent. Native opinion is more interested in the Government's announcement of its intention to introduce a form of national conscription, to place the opium traffic under the direct control of Chiang Kai-shek himself, and to compel the general observance of certain public health measures. For, while everyone knows that there is no prospect of conscription, opium abolition, or effective Public Health service, they know also that such schemes, even when *in nubibus*, are liable to provide new occasions for the official locusts who batten on productive industry.

In one department, and in one only, can the Government claim to have achieved a measure of progress since 1922, namely, the Department of Finance. The success achieved by Mr. T. V. Soong in balancing his Budget need not be unduly stressed, for the reason that in China there is no verifiable relationship between Budget figures and the realities of receipts and expenditure. But it is to the undeniable credit of the Minister of Finance, and, through him, of the "Soong dynasty," that he has

persuaded the war lords to abstain from wasting their substance on unproductive campaigns, and that, at a time of general depression, despite wars on her borders and calamities within her gates, China's credit stands higher in the world market to-day than it did ten years ago. But one Harvard graduate, who prefers western to mandarin methods of finance, will not make of the Nanking government a "devoted band of statesmen."

Lord Lytton now proposes that the League of Nations should settle the Manchurian question by "offering Manchuria an efficient government which is consistent with the terms of the Covenant and acceptable to the people of the country." The proposal is presumably based on the validity of the Commission's opinion that the condition of the country has actually progressed since 1922. If, as I have endeavoured to show, there is no evidence of any such progress, then it must follow that any "efficient government" bestowed upon Manchuria, must be drawn from sources other than Chinese. Which, as Euclid (and no doubt Lord Lytton) would say, is absurd.

What was essentially needed to enable the Lytton Commission to frame a useful Report, was first-hand, accurate knowledge concerning China's administrative, economic and political development since the Revolution, and if the League is disposed to proceed further with its Far Eastern adventures, it would be well-advised to call a halt until such knowledge is available. The League could not devote itself to any more useful purpose than the collection of trustworthy information concerning the present condition of things in China, provided always that the facts are collected over a wide range of country by unshepherded observers, equipped for the task with a knowledge of the Chinese language and practical experience of Chinese life.

Conversation Galante

By Humbert Wolfe

Surely it is not you! Sit, nevertheless,
in the wicker-chair where a rag of your dress
was caught, and may, for all I know, be flying
a black signal-flag of the faith that we are denying.
So, sink back in the worn cushions! Stretch your hand
with your dim gold air of a conductor, poising his wand
before the first bar of "The Unfinished." Give the rail
the little decisive tap, and then, powder-pale,
dim as dead music through lace, softer and dimmer
let the notes out of smoke driftingly glimmer
into the first chord, that is the rag on the chair,
your outstretched hand, the sea-wrack of your hair
floating backwards on a cold ebb, and the light that dies
in those sconces that were, do you remember, your eyes!
So let us talk, though the affable phrases loiter
like news intercepted by an archangelic Reuter
of some vague ancient battle, some uneasy stir
between the unfallen ghosts of love and Lucifer.
"The days draw out." "Really, this English weather."
(So we begin in social voices together.)
"Have you been well—that tiny patch on the lung?"
"Nothing! one can't, you know, be eternally young.
But you? I hear so little these days. Are you still
writing?"
"What did I use to answer?". "The swans are flighting."
"Well they have flown their last." "But whither, and
why?"
"After many summers (vide Tennyson) even swans die!
Slowlier they mount, crying, year after year until
the air over the lake is empty and the wings are still."
"And is there no echo in the heart of the vanished
wings?"
"The sedge is withered on the lake and no bird sings."
"The Belle dame sans merci." "When the heart beats
low we are all the knight-at-arms of Keats."
"And she—the sorceress?" "Ah, she discovers

no trace in the dew of any last year's lovers.
Young and unchanging she moves in the teeth of time
safe in the long fidelities of rhyme,
queen of the instant, whose coronation is
the brief and brilliant anguish of the kiss."
"So bitter still!" "If it be bitter to wonder
why the laurel trees are cut with the oleander,
why we walk no more in the woods, where note by note
song's falling fountain matched the blackbird's throat."
"And no way back?" "The shades on Charon's bark
however they may entreat, are for the dark.
And had the gods, like Orpheus, admitted me,
you had not listened, nor followed, Eurydice."

"Then it's good-bye again." "Ah no! at most
the laying by another of a ghost
with the dim echo of a word once said,
when both were living and, shade—rememberéd.
But I am keeping you. And there's the bell!"
"No need to rise"—"And none to say 'Farewell'."

Low Temperature Carbonization

By Captain Bernard Acworth

IN the February issue of THE ENGLISH REVIEW I concluded a retrospect of the unhappy history of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company with a reference to the future of low temperature carbonization.

The recent kindling of public interest in the great issue between coal and oil will not have escaped attention, nor will it have passed unnoticed that less is now heard than formerly of "oil from coal," by which means it had been hoped to attain the best of both worlds.

The growing silence on this project is almost certainly attributable to the realization that without State intervention, subsidies, and other manifestations of Socialism, neither hydrogenation nor low-temperature carbonization can transfer the navy and the merchant marine from natural foreign to British synthetic oil.

Though for many years I have opposed, to the best of my ability, the belief that oil from coal could bring salvation to the coal industry, soundness to the national economy, and strategical safety to the Empire, I have avoided the suggestion that low-temperature carbonization has no future. It is believed, on the contrary, that there may be a bright unsubsidized future for the various sound low-temperature processes, provided that low-temperature policy is given the correct orientation by those interested in its development.

While scores of these processes have failed through technical unsoundness, others, though inherently sound, and potentially commercial in the true sense of the term, have failed to make headway owing to insistence upon treating as the major product the 20 odd gallons of tar oils from which fuel and other oils can be obtained.

The chief charge to the Fuel Research Board, instituted about sixteen years ago, was the extraction of oil

from coal as a substitute for the foreign oil with which Lord Fisher saddled the navy when, in 1912, he designed secretly the five "Queen Elizabeths" as oil-burners. It was almost inevitable, therefore, that the small quantity of oil to be obtained from a ton of coal should have been regarded as the most important product of coal treatment.

The disposal of the solid fuel has necessarily been the rock upon which, until recently, all low-temperature processes have foundered.

It is clear that any attempt to propel the navy and merchant marine, disregarding entirely the mechanized army and land transport, on oil derived from British coal, must involve the production of solid fuel on a scale at which the imagination boggles; hence the many and varied agitations to compel the public to use the solid fuel in place of coal and of economic coal derivatives, and the ever-recurring clamour for subsidies and guarantees for the erection of the innumerable plants that would be required to supply the millions of tons of oil needed for our ships, and of petrol for motor vehicles.

Deprived of the comfortable half-way house that synthetic oil seemed to offer to a country torn between its "oil-mindedness" and its dislike of a foreign yolk, we are now squarely faced with the alternative of a coal-fired navy and merchant marine under our own control in any emergency, or of liability to a strategical calamity under circumstances which can quite easily be foreseen, and of which recent events in Persia and Russia are a warning.

Though at first sight these alternatives might appear, to all but Socialists, to sound the knell of ambitious low-temperature projects, I believe, rightly or wrongly, that the reverse is the case.

Freed from past pre-occupations with the attempt to produce sufficient oil to render our ships, and part of our transport, independent of foreign oil, those concerned with low-temperature carbonization can now turn their

attention, single-mindedly, to extending the use of their solid products and gases.

As a domestic fuel the solid product has already found a market and, according to recent reports, an expanding one, notwithstanding that its cost is at present greater than the best coals in their natural state.

The products of low-temperature carbonization vary according to the process employed. One system, for example, will give an excellent domestic fuel which retains the pleasant properties of a flaming coal while shedding the unpleasant features of smoke and dirt.

The chief by-product of this process is gas of as high a calorific value as 800/900 B.T.U.s, 300 B.T.U.s higher than ordinary town gas.

A second important by-product is approximately 20 gallons of primary oils from 1 ton of treated coal. Here we have three products for which there seems likely to be a natural and increasing demand in the future.

Considering, first, the rich gas obtained by this process, it will be clear that in a compressed form it will give a motor vehicle an increased range of approximately ⅜ over a vehicle employing town gas at 550 B.T.U.s. In other words, 'buses fitted with cylinders containing sufficient compressed town gas to propel them a distance of 60 miles, could, if out of touch with a town supply, have a radius of 100 miles on low-temperature gas without any increase in the weight or capacity of the cylinders.

It is believed that the public is not yet fully alive to the immense possibilities and economy of compressed gas as a fuel for motor vehicles.

Not only is gas very much cheaper than an equivalent quantity of petrol, but the combustion is so perfect that, when in general use in cities, we shall be released from the present stench of petrol exhaust fumes. In point of efficiency gas falls short of petrol by only 10 per cent. to 15 per cent., an efficiency that can be increased by mixing benzine. An expanding demand for compressed gas as motor fuel may be expected to hasten the provision of

a satisfactory system of gas distribution. Circumstances will decide whether gas should be available in portable cylinders or from compression plants at the great garages. Here seems to be one of the new main outlets for low-temperature plant, especially in the sphere of light, portable cylinders, whether for propelling vehicles or for self-contained lighting and heating installations in rural districts.

A growing demand for low-temperature gas will tend to reduce the cost of the main product, the domestic fuel, and thus to expand the demand, to the great advantages of cities where the smoke nuisance, like the fume nuisance, will diminish. But there is another point to consider. An expanding demand for the solid and gaseous products will make available an increasing supply of low-temperature oils, the cost of which, as in the case of the domestic fuel, will tend to fall as the demand for the gas increases. Indeed, in due course it may be found possible to meet *economically* an enormously reduced demand for oil mainly, if not entirely, from our own coal resources.

There is, however, another aspect of low-temperature carbonization. By another process it is possible to produce a different smokeless fuel which has already found a natural market. This solid fuel has the properties of charcoal, and is thus suitable as the source of " producer gas " generated in a " gasogene " on vehicles and tractors.

At present the " gasogene " is clumsy and, if fitted in its present form, a little unsightly for passenger vehicles. Furthermore, in its present stage it has certain technical weaknesses when used on vehicles subject to constant stopping and starting.

For lorries and tractors on steady runs, however, the extraordinary economy in operating costs should give it an important place in our future transport system. On a steady run it is possible to operate a vehicle or a tractor at less than $\frac{1}{3}$ the cost of operating a similar vehicle on

petrol. This remarkable achievement has been confirmed by a Government Department.

The Swedish Government is alive to the economic importance of producer gas for vehicles, and has consequently made available a loan fund of 200,000 kr. for assisting small traders to fit gasogenes, of which 1,000 were sold during the past four months.

The Chilean Government, in its desire to utilize national resources, has made compulsory the conversion of a fixed number of vehicles per day from petrol to producer gas.

In India a large number of motor vehicles using producer gas are giving unqualified satisfaction.

The French Government allows users of producer gas vehicles a 50 per cent. rebate on vehicle licences. Furthermore, the French War Office is using producer gas in army mechanical transport.

Though I am strongly opposed to preferential treatment for road vehicles using a native fuel, unless bearing their full share of highway costs, it seems curious that, up to the present, producer gas has made no progress in this country. It may be that a loan fund for small traders, as in Sweden, might popularize so economic a form of home-produced fuel, and induce petrol users to change to a cheap native fuel. The cost of the change is £50 to £100, a sum recoverable in a few months out of operational savings.

I have referred to producer gas plant in its present stages of development. Subject, as a layman, to correction, I can hardly doubt that producer gas plant for vehicles can be further popularized by suitable adaptation to particular vehicles. Furthermore, and again speaking as a layman who from boyhood has been closely associated with engineers and engineering, there would seem to be great scope for the internal combustion engine employing producer gas in light rail-cars, where the rolling resistance of rails is only one-fifth of the resistance of roads.

On rails, therefore, a vehicle can be propelled by a

producer gas plant at a lower cost than by any other means in existence. The very low fuel cost might be expected to outweigh the greater initial cost and maintenance charges of the internal combustion engine when compared to steam engines of similar power.*

In the military sphere there certainly seems to be scope for the use of producer gas vehicles. Would not the War Office do well to transfer army mechanical transport, if practicable, from foreign to British fuel with as little delay as possible, thereby immeasurably strengthening the national defences and aiding recovery in the national economy?

Enough has been said to show that through the agency of producer gas, and of high calorific gas in compression, both derived from low-temperature solid fuel, this new industry can reasonably look for an expanding demand for all its products, if the owners of vehicles, the fuel producers, and plant manufacturers, get together and organize a proper public demonstration in the streets of London and elsewhere.

In concluding this short discussion of low-temperature carbonization it should be pointed out that it is now possible successfully to carbonize, by a low-temperature process, soft coal as well as the normal coking coals, a matter of considerable importance to the coal industry as a whole.

It might seem at first sight that an expansion of the low-temperature carbonization industry can only be achieved at the cost of old-established industries, but this is not so. Steam, electricity, town gas, and even horses, have all got their proper economic spheres which will quickly sort themselves when the scandalous subsidization of the roads is stopped; when, that is to say, every vehicle and every enterprise is once again compelled to be absolutely self-supporting.

* Since the foregoing was written I learn that enquiries have been received from a British Colony for just such rail-car engines as those to which I have alluded.

Would not a new form of exhibition arouse national enthusiasm and give scope to the genius and enterprise of the engineers of the all-British basic industries now languishing? It would be essentially a display of what can be achieved in transport, and in the production of power, warmth and lighting, with British coal in one form or another. Such an exhibition would contain examples of every form of raising steam, of heating, cooking and lighting. Every type of vehicle propelled by steam, electricity, gas, shale spirit and benzole, would be on view. Dyes and explosives obtained from coal would be open to inspection. Every species of British coal, properly graded and prepared for various purposes, should be displayed, with simple statements of its price and heat value compared with contemporary prices of foreign fuel oils. Low-temperature products should hold an important place in such an exhibition. Models of the latest fuel economy plant should be available for all to see.

It may be said that such an exhibition is already provided by the British Industries Fair, but this is hardly the case. What I propose is a coal exhibition with the whole emphasis laid on Britain's source of natural wealth. Can it be doubted that to such an exhibition, based upon the pure economics of fuel, foreign shipowners, manufacturers and consumers would come in their thousands, not out of admiration or sympathy for British industry, but out of a very natural desire to obtain the utmost economic advantage for their own enterprises?

If such an exhibition should meet with the approval of our industrial leaders, it can hardly be doubted that with close co-operation between coal-producers and coal-users the necessary funds would quickly be forthcoming.

For some time a spirit of defeat has been hanging over the country. The highest hopes which have been expressed have seldom soared beyond an uncertain anticipation of the recovery of a measure of our pre-war industrial supremacy. When Great Britain once again

moves, manufactures and exists upon her own natural resources, thereby immensely cheapening them, we may look forward to a prosperity for all classes. Such restored prosperity can, however, only be achieved by a new spirit of adventure and goodwill in the mining, power and transport industries; by hard work; by justice between man and man and between industry and industry, and by replacing the crown on the head of the only possible source of British industrial prosperity—King Coal.

Foreign Affairs

By Sir Charles Petrie

IT has been observed more than once in these pages that most of the troubles which are afflicting the world at the present time are due to the fact, not that the problems of the day are so big, but that the statesmen who have to deal with them are so small. The events of the past month afford fresh confirmation of this. All that is needed is some clear thinking and a reasonable amount of foresight. In its place we have a feverish diplomacy which lives from hand to mouth, and is perfectly satisfied if it can resolve the crisis of the moment at the price of precipitating another and more serious one in a month's time. Europe is being run to-day on the principle of borrowing at 10 per cent. to pay off a debt contracted at 5 per cent.; to-morrow the rate will have risen to 15 per cent. to settle the 10 per cent. loan, and so on until breaking-point is reached.

The crux of the problem is Germany. The old policy pursued with such success at Utrecht and Vienna, was to negotiate a reasonable peace with the vanquished, and then to place strong Powers on his frontier to prevent him from breaking loose again. At Versailles this was reversed. Germany was subjected to unnecessarily harsh treatment on the one hand, while her new frontiers, particularly in the East, marched with States that would clearly be unable to resist attack when she should have recovered her strength. Of that departure from established diplomatic tradition the existing insecurity is the logical outcome.

The Way Out

IT is quite useless to disguise the fact, however much one may regret it, that the attitude of the German Government during the past few weeks has rendered any immediate revision of the Treaty of Versailles, by peaceful means, an impossibility. At the same time the experience of fifteen years has proved that the perpetua-

tion of the *status quo* is productive of nothing but chaos, both in the political and economic sphere. The small States created at Versailles are not only too weak to resist German aggression, but they are also too diminutive to be economic units in the modern world.

Is there a way out? Yes, by going back to the maxims that governed the settlements at Utrecht and Vienna. In the West there is no cause for alarm; Germany claims the return of neither Alsace nor Lorraine, Eupen or Malmedy, and, in any event, France and Belgium have the guarantee of the Locarno Pact. In the East the position is critical, and the wild talk in certain Nazi circles has alarmed opinion in the Baltic States. A political and economic understanding between Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia would not only create a large economic unit, but it would give the nations concerned a feeling of security. In the South every day that passes is rendering more necessary the revival of the dual monarchy, within the present boundaries of Austria and Hungary for the moment, for exactly the same reasons. Peace can only be preserved along these lines.

The Need for Realism

WHAT is both useless and dangerous is to pursue a policy of alternate threats and concessions, not to keep the peace, but to supply oxygen to the conference of the moment. When members of the National Government declare that Great Britain will not tolerate this or that, they are talking the veriest nonsense. We have no armed forces able to execute our decisions, and unless Mr. MacDonald and his colleagues propose to increase the navy, army, and air force (a step which is long overdue), they only succeed in making themselves ridiculous when they talk in the tone of Palmerston.

The plain, if unpalatable, fact is that peace to-day depends upon the armed forces of France and Italy. If war is to be avoided these two Powers must co-operate with one another, and we must work with them. As

things are panning out, an understanding between London, Rome, and Paris is an essential preliminary to the Four Power Pact. The Germany of the immediate post-war period has gone for ever, and it remains to be seen how far the Third Reich is the old Prussia under another name. In the meantime a policy based upon experience and realities is the only one for the other Powers to adopt.

Hitler's Domestic Policy

MEANWHILE, Nazi intentions in domestic matters are as obscure as ever, and those of us who had an opportunity of discussing the situation with Dr. Rosenberg, during his visit to London last month, did not obtain much enlightenment. Upon one point, however, he was emphatic, and it was that Hitler has no intention of restoring the Hohenzollerns. What type of constitution is to be adopted has not been stated, and it is permissible to suppose that no decision has yet been taken.

The trade union organizations in their old form have been abolished, and in some quarters this is taken to mean that the Nazis are working for a corporate State on the Italian model. If this is the case success will depend upon the appearance of men like Bottai and Rossoni, without whose help even the Duce could hardly have achieved so much. Germany is an industrial country with extensive foreign commitments, and she cannot afford to tolerate for long the present chaos in the economic field. It is now three months since the Nazis showed their ability to seize power, but they have still to prove that they can use it to the best advantage.

Germany and the World

IT is impossible to talk to any of the Nazi leaders without realizing that they do not, perhaps they cannot, understand foreign opinion. They say that they are within their rights in what they have done inside the Reich, and that it is no business of other people. That is the mentality of those who shot Nurse Cavell. There is

undoubtedly, as Mr. Tennant showed in his article in THE ENGLISH REVIEW a couple of months ago, much that is attractive in the Nazi creed, but Hitler's spokesmen, *more Germanico*, seem to prefer to dwell upon what is repulsive to the ordinary civilized man in other countries.

Dr. Rosenberg, too, was very insistent that the Nazi revolution is essentially conservative in its nature, and that therefore it is entitled to the support of the Right all over the world. Now, it is not easy for a Conservative to feel well disposed towards a regime which is avowedly anti-monarchical; which clearly wishes to make religion, both Protestant and Catholic, a department of the State; which has declared war on the family by its adoption of eugenics; and which is far more nationalistic even than any of its predecessors.

Above all, it is clear that Hitler has no great control over his followers; indeed, his leading is little more than being pushed from behind. For instance, we are solemnly assured that Germany has no desire for foreign adventures, and yet within a few days there occur the incidents of Dantzig and Vienna. If the Nazis wish to gain the good opinion of the world let them follow the example of Signor Mussolini; that is to say, let them make a success of running their own country, and then the rest of us will be ready to take them at their own valuation.

The Far East

WHILE Europe and the United States have been pre-occupied with their own affairs, the combined forces of Japan and Manchukuo have been steadily driving the Chinese armies south. It would seem, indeed, as if something more was afoot than the mere establishment of the Manchurian State, and the *North China Herald* has recently confirmed this suspicion by the publication of a secret treaty alleged to have been made between Japan and Manchukuo.

According to this document the aim of the allies is nothing less than the creation of a Federal Chinese

Empire with the Manchu dynasty on its throne, in the person of Pu-Yi, the present Regent of Manchukuo and former Emperor of China. The treaty is said to express the view that there will not be peace in the Far East until Communism has been suppressed in China, and that this will only be possible through the restoration of the monarchy. (In this connection it is not without interest to recall that in his latest work, "China: The Pity of It," Mr. Bland attributes the present moral anarchy in China to the establishment of the republic.) A Federal Constitution will be granted by the restored Emperor, and foreigners will be allowed to reside where they wish in his dominions, though they will not enjoy the privilege of extra-territoriality.

This treaty may or may not be apocryphal, but it represents what many qualified observers believe to be the case. It also tallies very closely with the articles of M. Coty which recently appeared in *Figaro*. If this is the Japanese object, and if it can be achieved, then Tokyo will deserve the thanks of all who have interests in the Far East. Republicanism in China, as in so many other countries, has become a synonym for chaos, as well as a forcing-ground for Communism, and it clearly must go before there can be any permanent improvement.

Japanese Finances

IT would seem as if the realization of these projects must be speedy, for the finances of Japan can hardly continue to stand the strain to which they are at present subject. The estimated expenses in the Budget amount to 2,239,000,000 yen, and the revenue to 1,300,000,000 yen, leaving a deficit of nearly a milliard yen. As if this were not bad enough, the Government has, since the presentation of the Budget, been obliged to introduce a supplementary estimate of 64,000,000 yen. The army and navy cost 819,000,000 yen, or nearly 37 per cent. of the total Budget, and, as will be observed, this sum roughly represents the deficit.

It will not be easy to raise the money by an internal loan. In January, 1932, the Japanese Government issued a loan of 170,000,000 yen, but the public only took up 64 per cent. of it, and the Bank of Japan had to absorb the rest. Later in the year the operation was repeated, and the deficit covered with the help of the Bank of Japan, but it is difficult to see how the latter can assist again in the same way without imperilling its own position.

The critical times through which Japan is passing may be gauged from the following facts. There are in Tokyo to-day more than 100,000 families which have less than 45 yen (1 yen = 1s. 2d.) a month, and many of them have not 30 yen. A Japanese family on an average consists of six to eight members, and in the rural districts even this meagre income is often as low as 18 or 15 yen. In these circumstances an early termination of the Chinese campaign would appear to be a necessity.

Paraguay and Bolivia

IT is surprising how little attention has been paid in this country to the declaration of war by Paraguay upon Bolivia last month, for it was the first time that a step of this sort had been formally taken since the establishment of the League of Nations. Furthermore, it is a remarkable testimony to the decline of the influence of the United States in Latin America. In December, 1928, war was prevented by Washington acting through the Pan-American Conference, but to-day the United States is apparently powerless, in spite of the fact that its interests in Bolivia are relatively greater than in any other South American state.

The origin of the contest is to be found in the handicap which Bolivia has suffered ever since 1879 in being deprived of an outlet to the sea, and the possession of the Chaco Boreal, the area in dispute, would go a long way towards removing this disability. The Bolivian

Government bases its claim to this region on the ground that, in the days of Spanish rule, it formed part of the *audiencia* of Charcas, in which Bolivia itself was included, while Paraguay relies upon the right created by long occupation. Incidentally, the outbreak of this war should give pause to those who would deprive Poland of an outlet to the Baltic.

The Spanish Elections

THE following are the complete results of the municipal elections held in Spain on April 23, when women voted for the first time :—

	Seats obtained.
FOR THE GOVERNMENT :—	
Acción Republicana (Azaña's Party)	1,059
Socialists	1,878
Radical-Socialists	1,649
TOTAL	4,586
AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT :—	
Parties forming the Republican Opposition :—	
Radicals (Lerroux's Party)	3,575
Republican-Conservatives (Maura's Party)	1,337
Federals	48
Progressive Party	138
Extreme Left (including Communists)	71
Liberal-Democrats	125
Other Republicans (various groups)	279
TOTAL	5,573
Parties in Opposition, not classed as Republican :—	
Agrarian Party	3,113
Acción Popular	550
Nationalists, Traditionalists, and Regional Right	1,681
Royalists (hardly any fought the election)	21
TOTAL	5,365

	Seats obtained.
Independents - - - - - - - - -	171
Not classified under any other heading - - - - -	633
TOTAL - - - - - - - -	804

TOTAL :—

FOR THE GOVERNMENT - - - - - -	4,586
AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT - - - - - -	11,742
MAJORITY AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT - - - -	7,156

Percentage polled by the Government about 28 per cent.

The defeat of the Government candidates is the more remarkable when it is remembered that, with the exception of Barcelona, none of the larger centres of population, where the greatest discontent exists, was allowed to vote, while the Law for the Defence of the Republic made monarchist propaganda impossible. Moreover, in many *communes* Government commissioners had been for several months " preparing " the electorate.

Men Like Ants

By Montgomery Belgion

CERTAIN distinguished men are exhorting the rest of us to let the life of mankind be transformed. There is Mr. Bernard Shaw, who, returning not so long ago from a brief visit to Russia, declared that other governments would do well to follow the Russian Government's example and allow individuals to live decently only if they proved efficient servants of society. There is Mr. H. G. Wells, who bids us apply to human affairs the same technique of directed thought and scientific method which has been so successful in dealing with the material world. There is Earl Russell (better known as Bertrand Russell), who wants us to let our young be so educated, and if necessary so doped with queer drugs, that they will grow up incapable of being anything but happy. There are Mr. Julian Huxley and Mr. J. B. S. Haldane, who seek to make converts to the belief that the abilities of different people require to be scientifically determined and that society needs to be so organized that the demands for various kinds of human ability shall equal the supply.

Nobody can legitimately object to the making of such proposals. These distinguished men are certainly free to exhort the rest of us if they please. But it is another matter that we should listen to them. It is another matter that their exhortations should be received with respect and that their proposals should meet with the support they are finding.

Of the respect and the support there can be no doubt. Within my own small circle of acquaintance, I have come upon mature professional men, earnest school-mistresses, and plain business people, who look on Mr. Shaw, Mr. Wells, and the others I have named, as the hope of mankind. They say that the world is ailing and that these distinguished men offer the only cure. Of course I should not regard my circle of acquaintance as typical if the attitude I find taken up in it were not reflected in

the press. But even in newspapers and periodicals which one would expect to be hostile, the books in which these men put forward their proposals are usually reviewed, not only without criticism, but actually with approval. And since undeniably the men are all skilful and persuasive writers and are widely read, it would indeed be surprising if they did not carry conviction with those whom skill and persuasiveness can convince.

Yet their exhortations can only be listened to and their proposals can only be entertained so long as we remain oblivious to three considerations. It is to these three considerations I wish to call attention.

They are: (1) That the distinguished men in question are devoid of the least qualification for advising on how the life of mankind can be improved; (2) that the benefits promised by them as a result of the adoption of the measures they recommend are vague; and (3) that the loss to men from the adoption of the measures would be great and precise. I take these three considerations in order.

As I have said, these writers are heeded because they are skilful and persuasive, and I now add that they are heeded also because they are famous. Yet, just as their skill and persuasiveness are no warrant for the soundness of what they say, so they do not—any one of them—owe their fame to their political wisdom. I do not dispute for a moment that they are all exceptional men in their several ways. My point is that their ability, which has brought them celebrity, is irrelevant. To heed Mr. Shaw because he is famous is to heed him because he is a highly successful playwright. But his success as a playwright is no indication whatever of his competence as an adviser on social reform. So with the others. Because Mr. Wells has shown himself to be a remarkably gifted storyteller, because Bertrand Russell is an eminent mathematician and attracted attention as a pacifist during the war, because Mr. Julian Huxley and Mr. J. B. S. Haldane are apparently excellent biologists—all those are no reasons

for supposing that when any of these men talks about what society should be or about what the community requires, he knows in any way what he is talking about.

On the contrary, the fact is that when Mr. Shaw—to take him first—lays down rules for sound government he does so with next to no administrative experience behind him and in almost complete ignorance of political and ethical theory on the one hand and of the history of political practice on the other. Mr. Shaw has been abundantly frank about the events of his life, and so to the questions, What actual experience of government has he had? and What training has he undergone to make him an authority on social reform? we have explicit answers. His actual experience of government has been confined to a spell as vestryman in St. Pancras, and if he became an authority on social reform after hearing Henry George at a public meeting and reading "Progress and Poverty," as he himself has said, it seems that it is with the same slender equipment that he has gone on.

It is the same with Mr. Wells, except that his practical experience has been, if anything, even more limited. He has been a J.P. in Kent and a candidate for Parliament in the University of London. That is all. Lord Russell, too, has been a parliamentary candidate, and now, of course, he has a seat in the House of Lords, but not only has his possession of that seat been very recent; his chief activities continue to be carried on outside the Upper Chamber. Like Lord Russell, Mr. Julian Huxley and Mr. J. B. S. Haldane are equally ignorant of life in the "great world" and of the real desires of human beings; they have spent the greater part of their existences in the artificial and "narrow" atmosphere of a university.

Again, it is to be noted that when, for instance, Mr. Shaw has had the opportunity of giving his admirers a lead, he has done so in the wrong direction. He has republished his "Common Sense about the War." Now, fourteen years after the end of the war, this essay may seem not entirely devoid of that which it

purports to contain, but if it can thus be viewed with the war in a safe perspective, there can be no doubt that at the time it originally appeared it was mischievous—not commonsense, but nonsense. If then any number of Mr. Shaw's admirers had adopted the beliefs he was expressing in the name of "commonsense," they would only have brought trouble on themselves and, worse, on the country as well.

Even more remarkable has been Mr. Wells's career as publicist. He is now urging the formation of a single world state. Is it likely that he is any more right this time than he has been in the past? At one period he was bidding us prepare to resist the Yellow-cum-Russian Peril. China and Russia, not Germany, were the enemies, he told the readers of the *Daily Mail*. Then came the war with Germany, and Mr. Wells set himself frenziedly to affirming in the Liberal press that it was the war to end war. Whatever the war was, it was not that. Then came the peace, and Mr. Wells, who at one time had been a Socialist, at another a Liberal, suddenly urged the country to vote on the other side, for the "Hang the Kaiser" and "Squeeze Germany till the pip-squeak" programme, the attempt to carry out which is largely responsible for the situation of the world to-day. Then a few years went by, and lo! Mr. Wells had turned Labour, and was standing in the Labour interest for Parliament.

Mr. Julian Huxley and Mr. J. B. S. Haldane are both still too young to have had such a varied past, but Bertrand Russell's public behaviour hitherto has not been such as to inspire confidence in his political wisdom. One may applaud the courage he showed during the war; one will nevertheless remain convinced that he would have been wiser if he had kept quiet. In any case his behaviour then seems to have been in flat contradiction with his precept. He would, he says, have human beings cultivate only "harmonious desires"; whatever they may be, the desire he satisfied

during the war does not appear to have been one of them.

Now, of course, all this evidence of incompetence for advising on social reform would not matter if there were any sign that these men had—any one of them—ever given real thought to the problems for which they glibly offer solutions. But there is no sign, and that brings me to my second consideration—the consideration that the benefits which these men promise as the result of the adoption of the measures they recommend are vague.

It may first be remarked that the proposals themselves will not stand examination. I cannot, in this article, discuss them all, but take Mr. Wells's proposal that there should be a single world state. In urging this, he talks as if international effort were a new thing he had been the first to think of. So delighted is he apparently with the feeling of being a discoverer that he has never paused to ask himself whether the single world state must necessarily be more successful socially and economically than the present plurality of states. He just takes it for granted that it must. Yet there is obviously no necessity in the case. Size alone has never guaranteed success—witness the suicide the other day of Mr. Ivar Kreuger, the Scandinavian financier. Mr. Wells reminds one, indeed, of the farmer who has not succeeded with his land and is persuaded that if only he had more land he would at once be successful. No business man imagines that if two or more undertakings are not doing well a sure remedy is to amalgamate them. Mr. Wells, in arguing that since so many of the various states are at present in economic difficulties, the trouble must be due to their not being all one state, is, in short, just talking rubbish.

And he is able to carry conviction in doing so simply because, as I say, the benefits he promises as the result of the adoption of his recommendations are vague. Vague, too, are the benefits promised by the other writers with whom I am dealing. In fact, they all promise the same vague benefit. Mr. Shaw still declares

what he was declaring at the beginning of the 'nineties, that the majority of men in Europe at present have no business to be alive. One should be alive only if one is helping in the promotion of that social well-being which, Mr. Shaw insists, must be our common aim. Unless a man is judged an efficient member of society, he should, Mr. Shaw says, be suppressed. That is why Mr. Shaw commends the Russian policy of sending persons to the mines or the Arctic lumber camps. Only the efficient should be allowed to survive and reproduce their kind. But what is the social well-being for the sake of which we must all be efficient? Mr. Shaw has never said. As I have emphasized, it is vague.

Mr. Wells professes to differ from Mr. Shaw and to have a superior nostrum to prescribe. But about the good effects of the nostrum, supposing it could work, he uses the same jelly-like language as his rival charlatan. Form a single world state, he says, and apply scientific method to human affairs, and mankind will be released for the realization of a fuller and better life. But regarding what is "a fuller and better life" he keeps silent or resorts to empty rhetoric.

So Lord Russell argues that if only the young are educated, and if necessary doped with queer drugs, in such a way that they will come to "act so as to produce harmonious rather than discordant desires," mankind will attain the good life. But how there could be one uniform good life for all mankind, or how the possession of many desires, however "harmonious," would be good, he is as vague as the others are.

So Mr. Julian Huxley and Mr. J. B. S. Haldane insist that society needs so to be organized that the demand for various kinds of human ability shall equal the supply, but how that will be good for human beings they fail to say.

On the other hand—and now I come to the third consideration, that the loss to men from the adoption of these various writers' recommendations would be

great and precise—on the other hand, there is no doubt that if the proposals, whether of Mr. Shaw, Mr. Wells, Lord Russell, Mr. Julian Huxley, or Mr. J. B. S. Haldane, are carried out, it will mean the setting up of a central authority with absolute powers of planning and controlling the activities of the mass of mankind. The central authority would have to be invested with absolute powers to direct the physical and mental doctoring and drugging of the young, to make the mass of men think and feel in a certain way, to decide how and at what people should work and where they should live as it would be thought the needs of the community required, to regulate human life according to laboratory tests of which it alone would judge the value, and to decide who were the socially inefficient and these inexorably "to weed out."

In short, the "general good" which the various writers declare should be our prime concern may be vague, but there is nothing vague about its having to be fostered only on condition that the mass of human beings enslave themselves to a privileged few. The so-called "general good" would, in fact, be the dictation of the central bureaucracy.

It is, of course, impossible to imagine that a central bureaucracy could be recruited which would be *competent* to wield such unparalleled powers of planning and control over the rest of their fellow men. Again, it is unlikely, since a bureaucracy of this kind must be incompetent, that if one were set up the social and economic system of which it would be the keystone could have enduring *stability*. The bureaucracy would be doomed to encompass in its policy its own downfall, and with that downfall the ruin of the system. Even if the bureaucracy's actions did not lead to its collapse, there would remain the threat of a conspiracy against it. Some of those whom it condemned to subordination would want to be bureaucrats, and if they could not become bureaucrats by intrigue and currying favour,

they would band themselves together to become bureaucrats by force.

Thus it is not to be believed that the proposed reorganization of society could, if attempted, endure. Even, however, if the proposed regime were no more than set up for a time, there must ensue for men what I term a loss both great and precise. Under such a regime men would become like ants. And let the great majority of men become like ants and they must cease to be human. During the past two thousand years the central tenet of the European tradition has been that the human being matters primarily as an individual. Certainly many have been exploited by their fellows, yet all men have been free in some measure each to bury or cultivate his talents and to discover for himself what he most desired and how he could realize his desires. In particular, all men have been allowed each to call his soul his own if he wished and to damn or save himself in his own way—the only way.

But if we go on listening to Mr. Shaw, Mr. Wells, Earl Russell, Mr. Julian Huxley and Mr. J. B. S. Haldane, if we allow ourselves and our posterity to be condemned to a future of emmet-like efficiency and subservience, that freedom must be no more. Yet, let that freedom be suppressed, let men become like ants, and for my part I cannot see that human life will be worth living.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

Edited by **HERBERT AGAR**

CONTENTS

Literary Notes	*By Herbert Agar*
Shakespeare Criticism	*By Hugh Kingsmill*
A Tragedy of Success	*By H. Francis Toye*
Something Worth Living For?	*By Eleanor C. Chilton*
A New Napoleon?	*By R. McNair Wilson*
Chamberlain in Transition	*By D. C. Somervell*
The Heart of Asia	*By J. O. P. Bland*
A True Poet	*By Geoffrey West*
Books Recommended.	

AN ABSOLUTELY TRUE STORY

I lately met a Great Man, a man of unusual acumen, whose name is in the papers every day. He was so much struck by the idea of his income trebled and guaranteed for life that within a week he wrote:—

"Conversion has converted me. Make me a £10,000 proposal for an Annuity payable to my wife during her life and afterwards to me if I survive her."

If you wish to take a holiday from all Income Anxieties and live a happier and longer life, you still have a chance to do as he did. Safety? One of the largest Insurance Offices in the world. £44,000,000 Assets.

Write, giving date of birth, and sex, to:—

Mr. STANLEY CLENCH

2 St. James's Square, London, S.W.1

Literary Notes

By Herbert Agar

The American President

"LOOKING FORWARD," by Franklin D. Roosevelt (Heinemann), is an aid to understanding current events in America and to estimating the probable course of the World Economic Conference. The book, which is a compilation of articles written and speeches made by the President in the months immediately preceding his inauguration, is clear and frank in its statement of Mr. Roosevelt's plans. There is no attempt to hide behind the foggy phrase, no concession to the view that statesmanship consists in appointing committees of inquiry and then waiting torpidly through disastrous months for a series of contradictory reports. Mr. Roosevelt has had the courage to make decisions, to state them frankly before taking office, and to act upon them immediately on coming to power. If, as is sometimes the case, his decisions seem questionable, it is good to know that he has the further courage to admit that he may be wrong. "The country," he writes, "needs . . . bold persistent experimentation. It is common sense to take a method and try it; if it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But above all, try something. The millions who are in want will not stand by silently forever while the things to satisfy their needs are within easy reach." If there is something too optimistic about that "easy reach," hopefulness is more useful than the debility that afflicts many modern rulers.

Mr. Roosevelt's views on tariffs, international trade, and debts, are of primary interest to his foreign readers, and on all these subjects "Looking Forward" is explicit as to what the President will first attempt. He asserts that the Grundy Tariff, enacted during Mr. Hoover's administration, "has largely extinguished the export markets for our industrial and our farm supplies; it has prevented the payment of public and private debts to us and the interest thereon, increasing the taxation to meet

the expense of our government, and, finally, it has driven our factories abroad." Mr. Roosevelt repudiates the Republican contention that America's plight is the result of world causes for which she cannot be blamed. "This excuse," he writes, "is a classic of impertinence. If ever a condition was directly traceable to two specific American-made causes, it is the depression of this country and the world. These two causes are inter-related. The second one, in the point of time, is this Grundy Tariff. The first one is the fact that by improvident loans to 'backward and crippled countries' we financed practically our entire export trade and payment of interest and principal to us by our debtors. Thus in part we even financed the payment of German reparations. When we began to diminish that financing in 1929, the economic structure of the world began to totter. When, in 1930, we imposed the Grundy tariff, the tottering structure crumbled."

Such is the analysis. The remedies proposed may be summarized as follows. Mr. Roosevelt opposes the financing of foreign trade by loans. "We expect and hope," he writes, "to substitute realistic study and actual exchange of goods. We shall try to discover with each country in turn the things which can be exchanged with mutual benefit . . . This economic interchange is the most important item in our country's foreign policy . . . (and) it will make possible the approach to a national economic policy at home which will have as its central feature the fitting of production programmes to the actual probabilities of consumption." To facilitate such exchange of goods, Mr. Roosevelt says that in place of the Grundy Tariff he will put a "competitive tariff, which means one which will put American producers on a market equality with their foreign competitors—one that equalizes the difference in the cost of production."

So far, the system is clear: the tariff is to be lowered, foreign trade is to be sought in the exchange of goods but not to be stimulated by further huge exports of capital,

domestic production is to be limited to what (with the present money system) can be consumed at home or exchanged abroad. If the United States were not a creditor nation, this system should be satisfactory; but the United States has a net foreign credit of about thirteen thousand million dollars in commercial debts and war debts combined. Mr. Roosevelt states quite clearly that he believes these debts should be paid. But if they are paid, what becomes of the programme outlined above?

Mr. Roosevelt admits that the attempt to pay these debts in gold has had effects on international exchange which were disastrous for American trade. It is payment in goods and services that he envisages. "The difficulties with regard to these obligations can be measurably obviated," he writes, "if we are realistic about providing ways and means in which payment is possible through the profits rising from the rehabilitation of trade by tariff adjustments." But the mere interest on the debts owed to Americans, without repayment of a penny of principal, would be about six hundred million dollars a year. At the moment, nevertheless, the United States has a favourable balance of trade. Is the tariff to be re-adjusted so as to allow this sum, plus a payment of principal, to enter the country without a single American article being exported? Imports received in payment of interest, and not in exchange for exports, must aggravate the unemployment problem.

If the United States seriously intended to permit payment in goods, she would have to devise some way of creating purchasing power and distributing it to her citizens so that they could make use of this enormous foreign tribute. If that could be done, America could gladly accept payment in goods, and could call the resultant unemployment by the happier name of leisure. But so long as unemployment, for the vast majority, means pauperism, America would be ruined by accepting these colossal payments in goods. It is here that the economic programme outlined in "Looking Forward"

needs to be amplified. The United States must either devise a money system which makes it possible for Americans to use all they want of their own potential production (including the goods they receive in exchange for exports), plus all the goods owed them by the rest of the world, or else she must escape from the predicament of being the world's chief creditor nation. Her debtors, to be sure, for reasons not wholly benevolent, are likely to assist here in this escape. But it will be bad statecraft if this takes place by simple repudiation, without any public admission of the contradictions in our financial system which make such repudiation necessary.

The preface to "Looking Forward" is dated March 1st, 1933. Three days later, Mr. Roosevelt became President. In view of his readiness to profit by advice and by experience, it is reasonable to suppose that his plans now include some method of dealing with this problem. With the opening of the Economic Conference, the world should learn what the method is. As a help to understanding the American attitude at the Conference, "Looking Forward" can be highly recommended.

Romantic History

THE two latest additions to the Peter Davies five shilling biographies make romantic reading. Mr. Eric Linklater's "Mary Queen of Scots," and Mr. Clennell Wilkinson's "Richard Coeur de Lion," make no concessions to those who hold that historical truth must always be disappointingly drab. Both these authors believe that if a character becomes, for generations of fellow-countrymen, a symbol for stirring and heart-lifting qualities, those qualities will in fact have been present in the character's life, however many contradictory traits may have accompanied them. As a result, we are given biographies of a King and a Queen, with no attempt to hide their crimes and weaknesses, but with the insistance that in spite of their short-comings these two were something other than huckstering politicians.

Chess

"MASTERS of the Chess Board," by Richard Réti, translated from the German by M. A. Schwendemann (Bell), is among the very best books on chess. Réti, who died in 1929 at the age of forty, was one of the greatest modern masters, and in this, his *magnum opus*, he wrote a book that should be of use and pleasure to all chess players except absolute beginners. "Masters of the Chess Board" is a series of annotated games, showing the development of chess from the time of Anderssen to the present day. Everywhere the emphasis is on theory, on the underlying principles involved. The copious notes contain no confusing detail, and demand no expert knowledge from the reader. In spite of the occasional clumsiness of the translation, this is very nearly the ideal book on chess.

Shakespeare Criticism

By Hugh Kingsmill

THE fact that a great deal of nonsense has been written about Shakespeare does not mean that it is impossible to write sense about him. A great deal of nonsense has also been written about life. But the proportion of sense to nonsense in Shakespeare criticism, always low, has perceptibly decreased since the war. A society which calls itself The Shakespeare Fellowship, and which was founded to propagate the theory that the plays and sonnets were written by Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, recently held its tenth annual dinner. One of the speakers at this dinner said that he was now perfectly certain that the young man of the Sonnets was the illegitimate son of Oxford (Shakespeare) and Queen Elizabeth. "Is it not thrilling," he asked, "to think that the son of Shakespeare might have been King of England, had it not been for the bar sinister of illegitimacy?"

If a society, called The Charles Dickens Fellowship,

were formed to propagate the theory that Palmerston eased his heart of his hopeless passion for Queen Victoria under the similitude of David Copperfield's adoration of Little Emily; or if a society, called The Robert Burns Fellowship, were formed to propagate the theory that George IV, for reasons of state, celebrated his youthful love-affairs in Scotch dialect verse, a large section of the public would in each instance be stirred to express its indignation. But any group of persons, whose intellects have been overstrained by cross-word puzzles, can divert themselves at Shakespeare's expense without a word of protest from anyone. Body snatchers disentombing Elizabethan Earls, and placarding the corpses with "This wrote *Hamlet*," have become a feature of the contemporary landscape too familiar to excite more than a passing comment. "A dark domain of ghosts and pedants, of blatherskites, monomaniacs, fanatics and fools." Mr. Logan Pearsall Smith, in his charming and witty book,* calls the realm of Shakespeare interpretation: "We hear the bleating of idiot adorers," he writes, "and the eternal swish of their white-wash brushes; we hear the squeals of the idealists and blatherskites as Professor Stoll pig-sticks them . . . and even wilder cries than these . . . For listen! the fanatic followers of no less than five Elizabethan Earls are shouting at each other . . . and, faint and far, as the wind shifts, we hear the ululations of those vaster herds of Baconian believers, as they plunge squealing down the Gadarene slope of their delusion."

The only serious criticism which can be brought against Mr. Logan Pearsall Smith is that he has allowed himself to be overawed by Professor Stoll, a learned American professor, who, owing to the inability of most persons to distinguish between erudition and insight, has of late imposed himself on the world as the final arbiter in the realm of Shakespeare interpretation. Professor Stoll is of course not to be classified with the body-snatchers. He is not only learned, he also writes

* On Reading Shakespeare. (Constable. 7s. 6d.)

forceful prose, and has a certain appreciation of Shakespeare's language, and displays at times a bleak though not unattractive humour. But he has no understanding at all of the relation between an imaginative writer and his work, in general, and the relation between Shakespeare and his work, in particular. He does not, like the body-snatchers, say that some one else wrote Shakespeare, but he argues the equally foolish, though more complex, theory that Shakespeare wrote without any appreciation of the interest and value of his own work.

Shakespeare, he says, was "not conscious," and he explains his meaning with a quotation from Keats who, he says, resembled Shakespeare in possessing no life or character of his own. "The poetic character," Keats wrote in his early youth, "is not itself—it is everything and nothing—it has no character—it enjoys light and shade; it lives in gusto, be it foul or fair, high or low, rich or poor, mean or elevated. It has as much delight in conceiving an Iago as an Imogen." Shortly after defining a poet's nature in these terms, Keats fell in love with Fanny Brawne. Fanny used to flirt mildly with Keats's friend, Brown, and this is how the lifeless automaton, Keats, wrote to her on the subject: "When you were in the habit of flirting with Brown you would have left off, could your own heart have felt one half of the pang mine did . . . Though he (Brown) has done me many services, though I know his love and friendship for me, though at this moment I should be without peace were it not for his assistance, I will never see or speak to him till we are both old, if we are to be."

Being unable to grasp the elementary truth that a great poet alternates between imaginative detachment and intense personal experience, Professor Stoll is left with a lyrical robot on his hands. This does not distress him. He calls anyone who does not see Shakespeare as a lyrical robot a blatherskite, and supports his own view with an extraordinarily robust indifference to his own contention that we can deduce nothing about Shakespeare from his work, and have practically no personal informa-

tion about him. In spite of these obstacles to portraying the man Shakespeare, Professor Stoll informs us, within a few pages, that Shakespeare played a quiet and minor part in life, that he was abject and timorous with the young man of the sonnets, that he founded no school and collected no coterie about him, that he was hard and humdrum in business, that owing to his lack of consciousness, he possessed no literary conscience, and that he was so indifferent to his dramatic achievements as to make no mention in his will of Ben Jonson or Drayton or Fletcher, or Dekker, Webster or Heywood—a strange *non-sequitur*.

To deny that Shakespeare can be deduced from his work and from the information we possess about him, and then to serve up a collection of scraps stolen from critics who have thought about Shakespeare to some, if not to much, purpose, is a shaky base for the reputation which Professor Stoll has achieved. In a few years he will disappear into the darkness which engulfs each Shakespearean pundit in turn. But there will be someone else in his place.

A Tragedy of Success

BIRKENHEAD: THE FIRST PHASE. By His Son. (Thornton Butterworth, 21s. net.)

LORD BIRKENHEAD must be congratulated on his book. Without being in any sense a great biography it is well done; the subject comes to life in its pages; the personality of the author is never obtruded; there is no cant, no exaggerated adulation. One gets the impression that the son genuinely admires the father for what he was, not for what the reader might be persuaded he was. Whether all of us will feel able to share that admiration is, of course, another matter.

The biography begins with an account of the Smith family, whose lowliness of station seems to have been wilfully overstressed by the future Lord Chancellor for, perhaps, obvious reasons. It then takes us through "F. E.'s" amazing career at Oxford and the Bar, his parliamentary debut and rise to power, finishing with the Great War. Though sometimes overcrowded with detail the

narrative remains laudably clear. In particular the biographer's accounts of the famous law cases with which his father was associated are excellent; the story of Crippen, for instance, is admirably told, so is the astounding tale of the "Veronica" murders. One feels, however, that there may have been a little more to say in connection with the Marconi Scandal, an affair that aroused much bitterness in 1912 and 1913.

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, for one who, like the writer, is primarily interested in æsthetic values, to judge "F. E." impartially. Abstractions of all sorts, above all artistic and spiritual abstractions, seem to have meant nothing to him. Never was a man more ruthlessly practical; never did a youth so avowedly, so wholeheartedly follow the ideal of advancement and self-interest. There is a great deal to be said for the old maxim of first acquiring an income and then practising virtue. But there are limits to the income (or the desires the income is designed to satisfy, which is the same thing) and the extent of the virtue practised must be commensurable. Reading through this book many will sense the lack of such a just balance in its illustrious subject.

Smith was a most amazing and gifted man; of that there is no doubt whatever. His vitality, his tireless energy, his keenness and subtlety, if not depth, of intellect, his courage, his sheer brilliance, all these qualities command astonishment, often admiration. What did he do with them? He turned an obscure man called Smith into the Lord Chancellor of England and became the owner of an 80-ton yacht, three motor-cars, eight horses, and the only person who, by common consent, might have been capable had he lived a little longer, of codifying the laws of England. No mean feat; ninety-nine men out of a hundred might be legitimately proud of having done so much. But Smith was the hundredth man, to be judged by his own standards. Another hundredth man, a certain Mussolini, with gifts not altogether dissimilar but with just one thing added, led his country from a state of chaos to a well-ordered government. What permanent benefit or even effect has the brilliant career of F. E. Smith had on England? Very little. St. Paul, it may be remembered, commented on the worthlessness of Faith and Hope when divorced from Charity. "F. E." possessed almost all the gifts of God but one:—Vision. As in the Pauline Trinity, lacking the one indispensable virtue, he lacked everything of real moment. A tragedy of success.

H. FRANCIS TOYE.

Something Worth Living For?

No Time Like the Present. By Storm Jameson. (Cassell. 6s.)

"No Time Like the Present" is a rarely fine book, artistically. It is the account of what happened to one member of the war generation—a girl who grew up in an ordered world, and whose hopes for that world were destroyed in 1914. It is told with such poetic intensity and moral fervour that one feels ashamed of a world in which these qualities must intensify rather than dissipate the pessimism implicit in this story.

The book opens with a memorable sketch of a childhood in Whitby—"a" childhood, because throughout the book Miss Jameson has maintained an exquisite reserve about her personal life; striving, one imagines, to make her story as representative as possible. But despite the reserve and the brevity of her sketch, that childhood in Whitby has the solidity and perspective of a good novel—so much so that one feels homesick for Whitby as soon as Miss Jameson carries one away with her to London. But here again, in the account of her student days, there is a poignant account of that first freedom which young people cannot have to-day; freedom to work and plan with hopefulness, to be poor and rebellious with security. The narrative of Miss Jameson's life ends with 1914—a symbolic illustration of her thesis that 1914 was the end of a generation.

The World War is the villain of Miss Jameson's story, and the last half of the book is devoted to an impassioned protest against the Next War. Miss Jameson finds the prospect of another war quite intolerable, but her suggestions for averting it are fraught with a hopeless quality which is, in a sense, contingent upon those suggestions, for they are all appeals to individual effort. The fact that the present system of competing for diminishing foreign markets will lead us straight into that Next War, is asserted, and needs assertion, but this practical suggestion is swamped by the less effective emphasis on the horrors of that war.

Miss Jameson sees clearly that all our ills are at least definable in terms of the loss of those spiritual values which created and until so recently upheld our social system. Taking for granted her honest statement (which will speak for countless others) that authoritarian religion cannot be resorted to in a utilitarian spirit by people who have ceased to believe in it—what is left to do, for those of us who agree with her in thinking that another war may well be intolerable in the literal sense—that our society may not survive it? Nothing, Miss Jameson implies, except

individual effort. But it is a contradiction in terms to expect mass movements—either of attack or resistance—from individuals. The social structure is the salient point in trying to deal with social evils, and it is probable that the only way to circumvent the inherent evil in men is to provide them with a system and a set of values which will employ and sanction the inherent good which is equally a part of them.

The unique virtue of this book, and the unique difficulty in reviewing it, lies in the fact that it is emotionally convincing and inevitable, and at the same time intellectually diffuse. The devastations of war, involving the destruction of one's world, are horrible; but to a vast number of people they are less terrifying than living in a world where there is nothing worth dying for—and in such a world the young and the gallant can always be presented with an issue which they are glad to believe is of supreme value and worth their sacrifice. Surely this is a proof, if one were needed, that there *is* something worth dying for—but we have not made it an effective part of our civilization, and the burning immediate problem, is not that of dying for it but of making it explicitly the thing worth living for. "No Time like the Present" is a brilliant and engrossing attack upon all the lies for which we may presently be called upon to die. Perhaps in her next book Miss Jameson will turn this honesty and fervour and poetic penetration to discussing the truths for which she urges us to live. ELEANOR CARROLL CHILTON.

A New Napoleon?

NAPOLEON PASSES. By CONAL O'RIORDAN. (Arrowsmith. 8s. 6d. net.)

MR. CONAL O'RIORDAN reminds one, irresistably, of those Chinese husbands who refer in scathing language to their dear wives, hoping and expecting, of course, that the stranger will supply immediately the necessary tribute of adulation. This feeling deepens as page follows page and Mr. O'Riordan exhausts a considerable, if not perhaps always pretty wit, in reviling his dear Napoleon.

"But at heart he was himself a rogue from infancy to age, and an aura of ruffianism hangs yet about his tomb. The world he troubled will not see peace until time has levelled his sepulchre and his memory passed away into the childish wonder of a fairy tale of an island dragon which held the earth in thrall, threatening to

swallow all human kind, until another dragon from another island, after long, patient waiting, fell upon and gulped it down."

If it is a little difficult to ascend with Mr. O'Riordan to these lone heights of commination, we ought not, certainly, to refuse him the Chinaman's tribute, in however modified a form. Let us agree with him that the sepulchre still stands and that the world has not yet seen peace. Further, that his " dragon " still rankles in many a mind so that Mr. Belloc's claim that this man must have some close affinity with present-day troubles is justified. Mr. O'Riordan is aware of that, of course, even if he has not paused to enlighten himself fully. He knows that Napoleon stood for something bigger than most of his contemporaries supposed. Such knowledge, in a world which can still count but can no longer measure, deserves honour and great praise. It is open now to Mr. O'Riordan to study the finances of the French Revolution and of the Empire side by side with those of the nations who, defeated for awhile, triumphed at Leipzig and Waterloo, and especially with the system of the London Money Market upon which, in the fullness of time, Peel was destined to place the coping stone. The suggestion is offered, in humility, that when he has essayed this task and returned with his sheaves of understanding, our author ought to enter, immediately, into the freedom and direct speech of the Occident. Once or twice as it is, he seems to come very near to accomplishing this, for example, when he declares:

" This notion of finance battening on destruction is not perhaps quite dead even to-day."

That should serve him as a starting point for a study of the subsidies paid to Austria, Prussia and Russia by London so long as these countries maintained themselves in arms against France, for the demands by England for a trade treaty which should have the effect of drawing gold from Paris and so allowing of the restoration of the international gold-standard and for the readiness of the British Cabinet, (provided the trade treaty was granted) to join " Bonaparte " in an attack on the United States. Mr. O'Riordan knows all about this last incident and sets it forth in plain language (page 244). Of how many biographers of Napoleon can as much be said?

R. McNAIR WILSON.

Chamberlain in Transition

THE LIFE OF JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN. By J. L. GARVIN. Volume II. 1885–1895. Disruption and Combat. (Macmillan, 21s.)

AT the opening of this volume the Chamberlain of the "Unauthorised Programme" figures as a Liberal of the extreme Left. Soon he is a Liberal-Unionist acting in alliance with the Conservatives. Finally, dropping the Liberal prefix, he accepts in a Conservative-Unionist Government the Colonial Office which Gladstone had refused him nine years before—all this, of course, to an accompaniment of cries of "Traitor" and "Judas" from his opponents. Mr. Garvin's volume contains all the evidence for rebutting that accusation.

There is no doubt that in 1885 Chamberlain looked as if he was every bit as much of a Home Ruler as Gladstone—in fact more so, but there was from the first a profound difference. Gladstone had long been the champion of oppressed nationalities. He had heard and responded to that cry in Montenegro, in Bulgaria, in Afghanistan, in Zululand, in the Sudan. He heard it now in Ireland. Chamberlain, like Disraeli, always regarded nationalism as sentimental bunkum. He was willing to destroy "Castle government," because he thought it inefficient; he was prepared to establish a system of democratic local Government in Ireland because he thought it would make for efficiency; but Irish "nationalism" as such left him more than cold; it froze him into antipathy. For the rest, the Irish politicians had themselves to thank. If there was one more dishonest politician than Parnell in that generation it was his mistress's husband, O'Shea. Between them they tried to fool Chamberlain. He resented it with all the intensity of his nature, and he set himself to destroy their cause, but it was not a cause of which he had ever been a supporter.

For the rest, Chamberlain was never a Liberal in the Gladstonian sense. He was a Radical organiser, and a pioneer of modern social reform. His programme along this line was at least as likely to receive respectful consideration from the heirs of Disraeli as from Gladstone and the Whig magnates. Indeed, as Mr. Garvin shows, a considerable part of the Unauthorised Programme was enacted by the Conservative Government of 1886–92 under pressure from its author. Chamberlain changed his party label without changing his principles, and his personal disinterestedness is above reproach. Had he accepted Gladstone's Home Rule he could hardly have failed to succeed him as leader of the Liberal Party.

Magnificent energy is the mark of every page of this immense biography. The author is himself among the veterans who can remember every phase of those battles long ago, and they live again in his pages. A younger generation, knowing 1914 and 1931, may incline to dismiss them as storms in a tea cup, but they were very good storms, raging all the more effectively for their confinement. The politics of Athens were more amusing and instructive than those of the Roman Empire, and the alarums and excursions of 1886 provide better material for exciting narrative than many a World Crisis. D. C. SOMERVELL.

The Heart of Asia

ON ANCIENT CENTRAL ASIAN TRACKS. By SIR AUREL STEIN. (Macmillan. 31s. 6d. net.)

SIR AUREL STEIN is one of those rare and fortunate beings who succeed in making their dreams come true. Ever since his youth, he tells us, the border region, between India and eastermost Iran, had the greatest fascination for him, and at the outset of this summary of his quests and discoveries in this region, he describes it as "a special boon of his life" that, in the glorious Alpine scenery of Kashmir, which forms the most attractive part of that border region, he should have found "the base for scholarly researches and labours which has proved best adapted to his personal tastes and qualifications." These researches and labours, undertaken with the support of the Indian Government and the assistance of the British Museum, involved three successive expeditions to the innermost parts of Asia—the first in 1900–01, the second in 1906–8, and the third in 1914–16—all of which yielded rich results. The purpose of the present volume is to give a condensed account, suitable for the general reader, of the most important of these results. In the course of his many journeyings, lasting altogether over seven years, the explorer covered some 25,000 miles, on horseback and on foot, a great part of which lay through the most formidable of all the dune-covered wastes on earth, where the vestiges of ancient civilizations lie buried beneath wind-driven sands. The region explored lies, generally speaking, between the great rampart of the Tien Shan on the North, the Nan Shan range on the East, the K'un Lun mountains on the South and the Pamirs on the West; the habitable portion of this large area (roughly 1,500 miles from east to west and 500 from north

to south) is limited to a few oases, all comparatively small, the rest being waterless desert.

The personal narrative of his first two expeditions, given by the author in his "Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan" (1903) and his "Ruins of Desert Cathay" (1912) is summarized in the present work and supplemented by his account of the third expedition, whereby he succeeded in tracing, from Loulan to Tun Huang, the perilous course of the desert route, which for centuries had served China's earliest intercourse with Central Asia. The story which Sir Aurel tells is something more than a record of scientific research; it is an intensely interesting epic of exploration, a stirring tale of great adventures. For its author's enthusiasm for archæological and historical exploration is tempered with speculative philosophy and a sense of the romantic aspects of history. Moreover, his is the eager spirit which rejoices in "the toil that each dawning quickens and the task that is never done"; no sooner has he written "Finis" to the record of his famous second expedition, than he begins to look forward to the conquest of new silent places and to hope that "the gate might open for work in those fields which still remain unexplored." To-day, eleven quarto volumes of detailed descriptive reports testify to his labour of years, but still he looks upon his tents in Kashmir as "his only real home."

It is interesting to note that, in Sir Aurel's opinion, the importance of these lands in the heart of Asia lies all in the past; he regards their political and economic importance as small, and smaller still the call of their natural attractions and resources. It would be equally interesting to know whether, in holding this view, he overlooks, or differs from, the recorded opinions of Prjevalski, Skrine, Bogdanovitch and other geologists and explorers, concerning the great mineral wealth (gold, jade, copper, petroleum, &c.) of these desert lands of eastern Turkestan, to which subject Mr. Nazaroff drew attention in the April number of the ENGLISH REVIEW. Mr. Nazaroff, it will be remembered, believes that the large-scale exploitation of the immense gold fields of southern Kashgaria, on the crest of the K'un Lun range, would present less difficulty than many of the Siberian fields or the Klondyke, and that the ultimate aim of the Soviet's "peaceful penetration" of this region is to secure possession of its vast resources of gold and oil.

J. O. P. BLAND.

A True Poet

THE COLLECTED POEMS OF HERBERT EDWARD PALMER. (Benn. 10s. 6d.)

THIS volume brings together work originally issued in several small books over more than a dozen years—the harvesting, perhaps, of nearer twenty years of writing. To read its 230 pages through is to be most powerfully impressed by the author's sheer individuality. He speaks always in his own tongue, his own tones, his own vocabulary. We have, to-day as always, parlour-poets in plenty, men cultivating by ceaseless attention sparks of talent one cold draught of really frank criticism would for ever extinguish. Mr. Palmer is—perhaps overmuch—of another kind. He scatters his seed as he walks, and recks little where it falls, whether on ground fertile or stony. His plants must blossom as they may; as they fall, so he leaves them. His place is by no camp, but on the stormy heights—he is the warrior skald of poetry, "the ballad man from the wild fierce north" to whom "a song's like a sword." Wild, fierce, salt, bitter—such are his favourite epithets. "There is no peace within him, only hunger and unrest." "Thus lava sings." Such are the themes of his rugged, battering, but always vital verse. It is a rattle of arms at the castle gate, a clatter of hoofs on a frosty road, the clash of steel, all the action, violence, torment of a man at everlasting odds with the world. "I am naught but a Sword in the Desert"—Ishmael, always Ishmael:

> "His domain was the desert. None tamed him.
> None bought nor sold his spirit, though his hand
> Dripped red against the dawn and sunset stain.
> "Thrones melted, kingdoms passed to the world's rim.
> But Ishmael scourged the lion in Paran land,
> And kept his faith with God. And he will reign."

He *will* reign—not only because he has kept his faith as a man but because he remains always, in some degree, a true poet. His minstrel songs may sometimes be carelessly fashioned, but their metal is never base. His poems have, many of them, the faults, judged by parlour standard, of the street product, but they have the virtues also, of vigour, vitality, vision, beauty—virtues outweighing faults, and causing certain poems to remain unforgettably in the mind: "The Shepherd," "Song of Job and Solomon," "The Unknown Warrior Sings and Curses in the Street," "The Cupboard Nightingale," "The Tramp," to name but a haphazard few. In these, and many others, there is something absolutely individual, that something which, striking home to the heart, is the unmistakable mark of the true poet.

GEOFFREY WEST.

Books Recommended

The following is a selected list of books just published or to be published shortly :—

HISTORY, POLITICS, ECONOMICS.

LENINISM. Vol. II. JOSEPH STALIN. (Allen & Unwin. 12s. 6d.)

THE MODERN STATE. LEONARD WOOLF, LORD EUSTACE PERCY, SIR ARTHUR SALTER, etc. Edited by MARY ADAMS. (Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.)

SOVIET ECONOMICS. A Symposium edited by Dr. GERHARD DOBBERT. Translated by MALCOLM CAMPBELL. (John Lane. 8s. 6d.)

THE ROMANCE OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND. KATE ROSENBERG and R. THURSTON HOPKINS. Foreword by VISCOUNT SNOWDEN. (Thornton Butterworth.. 15s.)

MEXICO BEFORE CORTEZ. J. ERIC THOMPSON. (Scribner. 10s. 6d.)

CELTIC PEOPLES AND RENAISSANCE EUROPE. DAVID MATHEW. Introduction by CHRISTOPHER DAWSON. (Sheed & Ward. 18s.)

ESSAYS, CRITICISM, MEMOIRS.

THINGS I HAVE SEEN. Sir CHARLES OMAN. (Methuen. 8s. 6d.)

CHRISTIANITY AND THE CRISIS. Edited by PERCY DEARMER. (Gollancz. 5s.)

ENQUIRIES INTO RELIGION AND CULTURE. CHRISTOPHER DAWSON. (Sheed & Ward. 8s. 6d.)

BEAUTY LOOKS AFTER HERSELF. ERIC GILL. (Sheed & Ward. 7s. 6d.)

VERSE.

THE FLEETING. WALTER DE LA MARE. (Constable. 7s. 6d.)

POEMS, 1930–1932. JOHN GAWSWORTH. (Rich & Cowan. 3s. 6d.)

PHILOSOPHY.

ADVENTURES IN IDEAS. A. N. WHITEHEAD. (Cambridge. 12s. 6d.)

THE NEW BACKGROUND OF SCIENCE. Sir JAMES JEANS. (Cambridge. 7s. 6d.)

FICTION.

PETER ABELARD. HELEN WADDELL. (Constable.. 7s. 6d.)

MY SISTER MY BRIDE. CYRIL HUME. (Heinemann. 8s. 6d.)

MRS. VAN KLEEK. ELINOR MORDAUNT. (Secker. 7s. 6d.)

"FAR BETTER"

A Plea for Cremation

1. INTRODUCTION

CREMATION cannot be said to be "a new thing," and of course in the sense that it means burning the bodies of the dead, it is almost as old as the world itself. What we mean by cremation to-day, however, is quite a new thing, for in its modern sense means reducing the human body to its original constituents by means of intense heat, by a process which is at once odourless and smokeless. In England, cremation owes its origin to Sir Henry Thompson, who, in the middle of the 'seventies, strongly urged a reversion to the ancient practice of cremation on purely sanitary grounds, and in 1874 founded the Cremation Society of England.

The first modern Crematorium was built in Italy in 1876, while the first Crematorium in England was built at Woking a few years later, although it was not actually used until 1885, the Home Secretary having formally forbidden the practice of cremation. A temporary crematorium existed prior to this in Dorset, which was used for the cremation of Mrs. Hanham, wife of Captain Hanham, and Lady Hanham, wife of the late Rev. Sir James Hanham, of Dean's Court, Dorset, and mother of Captain Hanham. In 1884, however, Mr. Justice Stephen, in the now famous Welsh Druid case, held that it was not an offence to burn a dead body, and shortly after this important decision the pioneer Crematorium at Woking was opened for public use. There are now 24 crematoria in Great Britain, and in a very few years there should be one in every important centre in the kingdom.

The medical profession has, of course, warmly supported cremation from the very outset, and during the last 30 years it has been advocated and adopted by the most earnest thinking people, including Statesmen, Clergymen, Poets, Painters, Writers, and eminent men and women of all ranks.

It is, however, necessary for cremation to be adopted by all classes to be of beneficial effect to the living. If you, for instance, decide that cremation is preferable, it is necessary to let your family know beforehand that such is your desire, and, to be perfectly safe, you should also write to the Secretary of the Cremation Society acquainting him of the fact. You must remember that your Will will probably not be opened until after your funeral. So long, however, as this wish is understood, it is not necessary to leave express directions, and the absence of such instructions is no barrier to cremation.

Those who become members of the Cremation Society not only help the cause but receive a National Certificate giving the right to Cremation at any Crematorium in this country and facilities for cremation abroad. Annual membership £1 1s. per annum; or Life Membership £5 5s. A list of Crematoria and all particulars will be forwarded, post free, from the Secretary, Cremation Society, 23, Nottingham Place, London, W.1.

2. THE CASE FOR CREMATION, *in next issue*

LONDON.

SAVOY HOTEL, LONDON.
Telephone: Temple Bar 4343.

PICCADILLY HOTEL. Regent 8000. Tels.: Piqudillo. Cabaret and Dancing in Restaurant and Grill. Restaurant Dinner or Supper 10/6. Grill Dinner 7/6 or à la carte. Evening Dress not essential in Grill.

HOTEL YORK, Berners Street, W.1.
Telephone: Museum 6862-3-4-5.

GREAT WESTERN ROYAL HOTEL, Paddington Station, W.2.

KINGSLEY HOTEL, Hart Street, W.C.1. Running water in all Bedrooms. Room and Breakfast, 8/6 per night. Phone: Holborn 3646. Tels.: "Bookcraft, London."

THACKERAY HOTEL, Great Russell Street, W.C.1. Facing British Museum. Running water in all Bedrooms. Room & Breakfast, 8/6. 'Phone: Museum 1230.

ROYAL COURT HOTEL. Sloane Square S.W.1. Sloane 9191. Renowned for good Restaurant. 120 rooms with C. Heat H. & C. water. Fr. 8s. double. Priv. Bath fr. 20s.

IMPERIAL HOTEL. Russell Square 9 Hotels, 3,500 Rooms with H. & C. water. Bath and Breakfast from 6/9

BONNINGTON HOTEL, Southampton Row, W.C.1. Running water all Bedrooms. Room and Breakfast from 8s. 6d. Mod. Bd. Terms. 'Phone: Museum 1010.

CORA HOTEL, Upper Woburn Place, W.C.1. Running water all Bedrooms. Room and Breakfast from 8s. 6d. Mod. Bd. Terms. 'Phone: Museum 4472.

WHITE HALL HOTEL, 92, Lancaster Gate, W.2. Overlooking Hyde Park. Running water in all Bedrooms. Room and Breakfast from 10s. 6d. Telephone: Paddington 3500.

WHITE HALL HOTEL, 2, 3, 4 and 5, Montague Street, W.C.1. Adjoining British Museum. Running water in all Bedrooms. Room and Breakfast from 8s. 6d. Telephone: Museum 4425.

DE VERE HOTEL. Kensington, W. Opposite Palace gardens. Moderate charges.

SCOTLAND.

BRIDGE-OF-ALLAN.

ALLAN WATER HOTEL. Central for Trossachs, Rob Roy Country, etc.

CRIEFF.

DRUMMOND ARMS HOTEL. On the Great North Road to Scottish Highlands. Tels.: "Premier, Crieff."

SCOTLAND—(*continued*).

GLASGOW.

MORE'S HOTEL. Ideal in every respect. Moderate charges.

GULLANE, N.B. (EAST LOTHIAN).

MARINE HOTEL. Opposite Muirfield Golf Course. First-class in all respects.

BISSET'S FAMOUS GOLFING HOTEL. Beside Golf Courses.

PERTHSHIRE.

KENMORE HOTEL. Golfing, Tennis, Fishing, Motoring. Restful, bracing.

PITLOCHRY.

ATHOLL PALACE HOTEL. Nine Lawn Tennis Courts. Grounds 46 acres. Garage 70 cars.

IRELAND.

ACHILL ISLAND (Co. Mayo).

THE VALLEY HOUSE. Fully licensed. Own Golf. Tennis Lake and Sea Fishing. Bathing.

SEASIDE.

BEXHILL-ON-SEA.

HOTEL RIPOSO. Facing sea. Adjoining Golf Links Tels.: "Riposo, Bexhill." 'Phone: 472.

NORMANHURST HOTEL. Sea front. Gas fires. Lift. Fully Licensed. Night Porter. Phone 68.

GRANVILLE HOTEL. Most centrally situated. Moderate charges.

BIRCHINGTON-ON-SEA, THANET.

BERESFORD HOTEL. Golf, Tennis, Sea-water Baths and Electrical Treatment. 'Phone: Birchington 101.

BOURNEMOUTH.

BOURNEMOUTH HYDRO. Hotel comforts. Hydro baths. 'Phone: 341. Modern Gas fires.

GROSVENOR HOTEL. West Cliff. Central heating; h. and c. water all rooms. Tels.: "Grovenotel." 'Phone: 806.

BROCKENHURST.

BROCKENHURST HOTEL. Tel. 74. Away from noise. Every comfort. Excellent cuisine. Chef. 70,000 acres of forest & moorland. Golf. Hunting. Apply Manageress.

SEASIDE—(*continued*).

BRIGHTON.

DUDLEY HOTEL. Adjoining Hove Lawns. Licensed, Lift, Night Porter, H. & C. Water in bedrooms, Central Heating. Bed, Breakfast and Bath 10s. 6d. 'Phone: 4910 Hove. Tels.: Devonian Brighton. Write for tariff, Proprietor.

GRAND HOTEL. Facing sea, covered terrace. Best Family. From 6 guineas week, inclusive.

HOTEL CURZON. Facing sea. Licensed. Quiet. Lift. Moderate terms. 'Phone: 5314 Brighton.

OLD SHIP HOTEL. On the Sea Front. Garage. From 5½ gns. weekly. 'Phone: 2031.

ROYAL CRESCENT HOTEL. Unrivalled situation. Unique marine views.

BRIGHTON—ROTTINGDEAN.

TUDOR CLOSE. The Loveliest Hotel in Sussex. In the romantic seaside Village of Rottingdean now a part of Brighton. Central Heating. All modern conveniences. High Class with moderate terms. Horses available for riding on 2,000 acres of Downland in connection with Hotel at 5/- per hour. Write Manageress for illustrated Brochure. Appointed R.A.C., A.A. Hotel. Telephone: Rottingdean 9291.

BUDE (Cornwall).

MAER LODGE HOTEL (Private). Standing in own grounds. Close sea and adjoining Golf Links. Central Heating. H. & C. running water in all Bedrooms. Recommended Winter Residence. 'Phone: Bude 206.

BURNHAM-ON-SEA.

GRIDLANDS GOLF HOTEL. Close to Famous Links. H. & C. water. Garages. Tennis. 'Phone 142.

DARTMOUTH (Devon).

THE RALEIGH HOTEL. First-class Family. R.A.C. and A.A. Hot and Cold water in all rooms. 'Phone 44.

EASTBOURNE.

ANGLES PRIVATE HOTEL. Sea front. 100 bedrooms. Dance room. Billiards. Resident Propr. 'Phone: 311.

SUSSEX HOTEL. Cornfield Terrace. Grill room. 'Phone: 362.

HOWARD HOUSE HOTEL (Private). Ideal position. 1 min. Sea; Devonshire Park. 'Phone 846.

FALMOUTH.

FALMOUTH HOTEL. Best in Cornwall.

GREEN BANK HOTEL. First-class Family. Situated on the water's edge.

FISHGUARD, PEM.

FISHGUARD BAY HOTEL. Adjoining Harbour. 40 bedrooms.

FOWEY (Cornwall).

ST. CATHERINE'S HOTEL. Unique position. Facing Sea. Unlicensed. 27 Bedrooms.

SEASIDE—(*continued*).

FOLKESTONE.

AVONDALE HOTEL. On sea front, facing South. From 3½ guineas. 'Phone 3730. Props. Mr. and Mrs. W. Meadmore.

HASTINGS.

ALBANY HOTEL. Sir Henry Lunn, Ltd. Finest position on front.

THE NEW QUEEN'S HOTEL. Leading and best. Moderate charges.

YELTON PRIVATE HOTEL. 50 rooms. Next door to Pavilion. Opposite Pier. From 3 gns. Tel.: 614.

HOVE—BRIGHTON.

ST. CATHERINE'S LODGE HOTEL, Kingsway. Facing Sea. H. & C. running water. 50 rooms. Moderate terms. 'Phone: 3404 Hove. Tel.: "Cheerful," Brighton.

HUNSTANTON-ON-SEA.

LE STRANGE ARMS AND GOLF LINKS HOTEL. Close sea. Own Golf Course free. 'Phone: 10.

GOLDEN LION HOTEL. Opposite Pier. 'Phone: 18. Hot water in bedrooms. Hard Tennis Courts.

LITTLEHAMPTON.

BEACH HOTEL. Ideal situation facing due South and overlooking sea.

LYME REGIS (Devon and Dorset Border).

THE BAY HOTEL. (Unlicensed). The only Hotel on the Parade. New Sun Lounge overlooking Bay now open. H. & C. water in Bedrooms. Noted for Comfort, Cleanliness and Cooking.

MILFORD-ON-SEA.

KINGSMEDE. Close to sea. Garage. Lawn Tennis. Good Library. 'Phone 89.

NEWQUAY.

WATERGATE BAY HOTEL (Near Newquay). Finest position on coast. Everything excellent. 'Phone: 5.

PAIGNTON.

REDCLIFFE HOTEL. Best position on sea front. H. & C. water. Central Heating. 'Phone 82533.

PENARTH.

(10 minutes Cardiff).

ESPLANADE HOTEL. Sea Front. H. & C. water in Bedrooms. Excellent Cooking and Wines.

PENZANCE.

QUEEN'S HOTEL. First Class. Overlooking Sea. Central Heating. Lift. 'Phone: 471 & 472.

RYDE, I.O.W.

ROYAL ESPLANADE HOTEL. Facing Sea and Pier. Tels.: "Band," Ryde. 'Phone: 293.

ST. ANNES-ON-THE-SEA.

GRAND HOTEL. Close to Golf Club and open-air swimming bath. 'Phone: 55.

SEASIDE—(*continued*).

ST. IVES (Cornwall).

TREGENNA CASTLE HOTEL. 75 bedrooms. 100 acres grounds.

HOTEL GHY-AN-ALBANY. A.A., R.A.C. Overlooking Bay. Near Beach, Tennis, Golf. 100 Guests. 'Phone: 59.

ST. LEONARDS-ON-SEA.

ADELPHI HOTEL. R.A.C., A.A. Hot and cold running water. From 10s. 6d. daily inclusive. Garage.

SHALDON (S. Devon).

(Near Torquay. Near Teignmouth.)

DUNMORE HOTEL. A really First Class Hotel, with all modern conveniences. 'Phone: Shaldon 2.

SHANKLIN, I.O.W.

ROYAL SPA HOTEL. Only Hotel on sea front. Terms moderate. Officially appointed A.A. & R.A.C. 'Phone: 67

SIDMOUTH.

BELMONT HOTEL. First-class. Overlooking Sea. Lift. Running water and Radiators in Bedrooms.

FORTFIELD HOTEL. Modern. Overlooking Sea. Central Heating. Lift. Lock-up Garage.

VICTORIA HOTEL. Modern. Close to Sea. Marine Shelter. Central Heat. Lift. Lock-up Garage.

SOUTHPORT.

VICTORIA HOTEL. First-class Family. Lifts. Garage. Running water in all Rooms. En Pension from 15s.

TORQUAY.

ARGYLL HALL PRIVATE HOTEL. Overlooking Bay. Magnificent view. Excellent cuisine. For en Pension terms, apply Proprietor. 'Phone: 2268.

GRAND HOTEL. First Class. Best position. Sea Front. Every modern comfort.

OSBORNE HOTEL, TORQUAY. Facing full South & the Sea. Away from all noise & traffic. Fully licensed. Garage for 50 Cars. Illustrated Brochure from Manager.

PALM COURT HOTEL. Level. Sea Front. Fully Licensed. H. & C. Every Modern Comfort. Terms Moderate.

THE SANDRINGHAM PTE. HOTEL. Central & restful. Good cuisine. Inclusive from 3 gns. weekly. 'Phone: 2379.

VENTNOR, I.O.W.

BURLINGTON HOTEL. First-class. Facing Sea. Central Heating. Garage. From 9s. per day. 'Phone: 123.

WALMER.

THE FAIR MAID OF KENT HOTEL. H. & C. running water all Bedrooms. Moderate terms. 'Phone 252 Deal.

SEASIDE—(*continued*).

WESTWARD HO.

GOLDEN BAY HOTEL. Leading N. Devon Hotel. Facing sea & famous Golf Links. Large garage. 'Phone: 14

SPAS AND HYDROS.

BATH.

GRAND PUMP ROOM HOTEL. Lifts. Central heating. Intercommunication with Corporation bath. Tel.: "Pumpotel."

SPA HOTEL. Running H. & C. water and Radiators all rooms. Nine acres. Lift. Orchestra. Own Garage. The quietest hotel position in Bath. Telephone 4224-5. Telegrams: "Spaotel, Bath."

BUXTON.

SPA HOTEL. 240 rooms. H. & C. Water and Radiators. Garage. Tels.: "Comfortable."

DROITWICH SPA.

RAVEN HOTEL. All modern comforts. Excellent Cuisine. Garage 100 cars opp. Brine Baths. Illustrated Brochure on application.

WORCESTERSHIRE BRINE BATHS HOTEL. 175 rooms. All have H. & C. Water and electric fire. A.A., R.A.C. Reduced Incl. Winter Terms. Illd. Spa Guide from H. B. Culley, Mgr. **"Brine Baths for Rheumatism."**

EASTBOURNE.

HYDRO HOTEL, SOUTHCLIFF. Facing sea and Beachy Head. South aspect. Ballroom. 'Phone: 643.

HARROGATE

THE CAIRN HYDRO. Luxurious accommodation for 300 guests. Write for illustrated Brochure.

HARROGATE HYDRO. Ideal situation. Accommodation 300. Lift. H. & C. all rooms. Tariff on request. Established 1878.

LEAMINGTON SPA.

ALKERTON PRIVATE HOTEL. South aspect. Comfortable. Moderate Tariff. Garage. R.A.C. 'Phone 510.

MATLOCK.

CHATSWORTH HYDRO. Glorious situation. Nearest Moors and Golf Links. Lift. A.A., R.A.C. 'Phone 9.

SMEDLEY'S. —Gt. Britain's Greatest Hydro. For health, comfort and pleasure, 270 Bedrooms, grounds 10 acres. Inclusive terms from 13s. per day. Illustrated Prospectus free.

THE LILYBANK HYDRO. R.A.C. Appointed Hotel. Accommodation, 130 Visitors. 6 acres of pleasure gardens. Sun lounge, "Vita" glass. H. and C. water in all bedrooms. Lift. From £3 10s. per week.

WOODHALL SPA.

EAGLE LODGE HOTEL. Fully licensed. Garage.

PROVINCIAL TOWNS AND COUNTRY.

ANGLESEY.

BAY HOTEL, RHOSNEIGR. Facing the Sea. Excellent Cuisine. First-class Golf. Tennis, Boating, Bathing, Fishing, Dancing. Fully licensed. Electric light and H. & C. water in all rooms. A.A. R.A.C. Telephone: 18.

AYLESBURY (Bucks).

BULL'S HEAD HOTEL. 15th-Century Hostelry. Well known to Motorists. Luncheons. Garage. 'Phone 120.

BEAULIEU, NEW FOREST.

MONTAGU ARMS. 12 miles from Southampton. Thoroughly up-to-date Country Hotel, Oak-panelled, Furnished as Gentleman's Country House. Sunny warm winter climate. Every Comfort in beautiful setting. Private Suites. Comfortable Lounge. Central Heating. Hot and Cold water in Bedrooms. Electric Light. Garages.

CARDIFF.

ROYAL HOTEL. Close to station. First-class. H. & C. water in bedrooms. Grill room. Motor Omnibus.

CIRENCESTER.

(The town with the sporting atmosphere.)

KING'S HEAD HOTEL. R.A.C., A.A.*** Excellent cuisine. Specially reduced terms for winter months to suit present conditions. H. & C. running water in bedrooms. Hunting, Golf, Tennis (6 hard courts), Squash, Bowls. 'Phone 55.

ENGLISH LAKE DISTRICT.

ROYAL OAK HOTEL, KESWICK-ON-DERWENT-WATER. 70 Bedrooms with H. & C. running water and some with private baths. Suites, Dance Room, Palm Lounge, Lift. Write for Tariff. Telephone 23 and 238.

THE KESWICK HOTEL. First-class. Centre English Lakes. Elec. Lift & Light. Cent. Htg. 'Phone: 20 Keswick.

ARMATHWAITE HALL HOTEL. All modern comforts. Elec. Lift & Light. 'Phone: 20 Bassenthwaite Lake. Propns.: J. & M. Wivell & Son.

HINDHEAD.

PINEHURST, WITLEY, SURREY. (Nr. Hindhead and Haslemere.) 3 mins. Witley Stn. For Sunshine, Pines, Golf. 10 acres beautiful grounds. Home Produce. R.A.C. A.A. Res. Props.: Mr. & Mrs. J. T. Hollowell.

PROVINCIAL TOWNS AND COUNTRY —(*continued*).

LEWES.

WHITE HART HOTEL. 14th Century. Panelled rooms. Old World Gardens. 4 guineas week. Walton.

CROWN HOTEL. Reconstructed. Refurnished. H. and C. in bedrooms. 4 guineas week. Walton.

MORETONHAMPSTEAD (Devon).

MANOR HOUSE HOTEL. 200 acres of Park and Pleasure Grounds. Tennis. Croquet. Golf.

PATTERDALE.

ULLSWATER HOTEL. Overlooking Lake. Every Comfort. Free Fishing. Tennis. 'Phone: Glenridding 7.

SALISBURY.

CATHEDRAL HOTEL. Fully licensed. A.A., R.A.C. Lift. Rng. h. & c. softened water & radiators in bedrooms. 'Phone: 399 & 830. Props.: Capt. & Mrs. Gilbert King.

SNOWDONIA.

BANGOR CASTLE HOTEL. 40 Bedrooms with H. & C. water and Central Heating. The most modern and most comfortable Hotel in North Wales. Restaurant, Oak Lounges, Ball Room, Excellent Cuisine, Service Garage. Souvenir Brochure post free.

WELLS.

SWAN HOTEL. Facing the Cathedral. Garage. Electric Light. Hot and Cold running water. 'Phone: Wells 21.

WINCHESTER.

GEORGE HOTEL. A.A. appointed. Comfortable. Moderate terms. 'Phone: 491.

INDIA.

SAVOY HOTEL, Mussoorie.

CARLTON HOTEL, Lucknow.

CONTINENTAL HOTELS

FRANCE.

MENTONE.

HOTEL CÔTE D'AZUR (Eng. Propr.). Central, near Sea. Every modern comfort. Moderate terms.

SWITZERLAND.

AXENSTEIN.

GRAND HOTEL—PARK HOTEL. On Lake Lucerne. Golf. Swimming Pool. Tennis. Orchestra. Red. Pension terms: **GRAND** 15, **PARK** 10 francs.

BEATENBERG (above Interlaken).

REGINA PALACE HOTEL. Summer and Winter Sports. Homelike. Cheap and good.

ENGADINE.

MALOJA PALACE. Grandest Swiss Alpine Centre.
Mountaineering, Golf, Lawn Tennis.
Boating, Bathing, Trout Fishing.
Theatre, Ball Room and Lounge.
All winter sports at their best.
Illustrated booklet post free.

CLARENS—MONTREUX.

Centre for all excursions and sports, **THE GRAND HOTEL LE CLARENS.** Ideal situation. 10s. daily inclusive.

SWITZERLAND—(*continued*).

ST. GALL.

HOTEL WALHALLA-TERMINUS. Georges E. Stöbeli. Up-to-date. Tels.: "Walhalla, St. Gall." Garage.

VEVEY.

CHATEAU. Highly rec. Hotel Pension. Large garden on lake. From 42s. weekly, inclusive.

BELGIUM.

BRUGES.

MEMLING PALACE HOTEL. Grand Place, nr. famous Belfry. Modern. Rooms with private bathroom.

GERMANY.

WIESBADEN.

HOTEL NIZZA, WIESBADEN. Prop.: E. Uplegger. Near Station and English Church. Moderate terms.

EDUCATIONAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

BOYS.

ABERGELE, DENBIGHSHIRE.—KINMEL SCHOOL. Public School (Boys, 13–19). Advanced Courses in Commerce and Engineering (Modern Office and Engineering Shops). Ample dietary, with fresh fruit. Centrally heated dormitories; hot and cold shower baths. Park of 300 acres overlooking sea and mountains. Prospectus from Headmaster. Fees 120 gns. per annum inclusive.

BETHANY SCHOOL, GOUDHURST, KENT. Education thorough; Situation ideal; Sports, Swimming, Scouts. Free-Church tone. Eighty boys, 8 to 18. Founded 1866. Fees £72 per year.

BOYS' CATHOLIC PREPARATORY SCHOOL, ST. LOUIS, HAWKESYARD, RUGELEY, STAFFS. Headmaster: R. D. Jebb, M.A., M.C.

CHURCHER'S COLLEGE, PETERSFIELD. Boys 10 to 18. Fees from £70 10. Public School Education; leaving Exhibitions; O.T.C.; Swimming Bath; Separate Preparatory School.

CLAYESMORE SCHOOL, WINCHESTER. Small Public School for boys. Special individual attention. Splendid grounds and playing fields. A pioneer school in modern educational method. Moderate fees. Headmaster: Aubrey de Sélincourt, M.A.

HERNE BAY COLLEGE, KENT. School and Higher Certificate. Mechanical Engineering. O.T.C. 120 guineas.

BOYS.

LADYCROSS, SEAFORD, SUSSEX. First-Class R.C. School for Public Schools and R.N. Ideal buildings. Private Chapel. Teaching by modern individual methods. Many Scholarships gained. For Prospectus, etc., apply Headmaster.

MALSIS PREPARATORY SCHOOL, CROSS HILLS, YORKSHIRE. Boys 7–14. Special features in addition to usual preparation for Public Schools. For Prospectus apply Headmaster.

SANDBACH SCHOOL, CHESHIRE. Founded 1677; Endowed School for boys 8–18; Playing Fields, about 18 acres. Swimming Bath. Fees £69 per annum. Apply Headmaster.

ST. ALBAN'S, LYME REGIS. Boys' Preparatory. Ideally situated in 16 acres. Open-air bath, Sea bathing; every care. Principal.

ST. COLUMBA'S COLLEGE, RATHFARNHAM, Co. DUBLIN. Public School (Church of Ireland). Beautifully situated Dublin mountains. Fees £100. Entrance Scholarships June.

THE ABBEY, BECKENHAM, KENT. Preparatory school for boys aged 5–14. Fine scholarship and athletic record. Grounds: 16 acres. Headmaster: R. T. Gladstone, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.

EDUCATIONAL ANNOUNCEMENTS—*cont.*

BOYS.

THE GRANGE, BECKENHAM, KENT. Preparatory for all Public Schools. Careful individual training. Extensive Sports ground in open country. Unsurpassed health record. Prospectus, book of Views, &c., from Headmaster.

WEYMOUTH COLLEGE, DORSET. Headmaster: A. G. Pite, M.C., M.A. Five Scholarships up to £35 per annum, increasable to £70 in cases of need, are offered for competition annually in June. Fees £110 per annum, with reductions for sons of Clergy and Officers. Junior School under Lt.-Col. P. F. FitzGerald, D.S.O. Apply Headmaster's Secretary.

Special Tuition.

CRANEMOOR, CHRISTCHURCH, HANTS. Healthy coaching for Matriculation and all examinations under best possible conditions. New Forest and sea, riding and games. F. Pettipher, B.Sc.

GIRLS.

CHURCH EDUCATION CORPORATION. An Educational Trust, founded 1900, having Public Schools for girls at inclusive fees in Dorset, Kent, Sussex and Oxford. For Prospectuses apply to the Secretary, 34, Denison House, Westminster, London, S.W.1.

CHALFONT LODGE, GERRARD'S CROSS, BUCKS. Matriculation. Riding. Good health record.

DUNARDARIGH, NORTH BERWICK. Inspected and recognized by Education Department. Preparation for Examinations. Special attention to health. Situated near Sea and Golf Links. Moderate Fees.

GIRLS.

GADS HILL PLACE, ROCHESTER, KENT. Ideal home for children from abroad. Sound education, with individual training. Gymnasium; 12 acres. Fees moderate.

SKELLFIELD SCHOOL, TOPCLIFFE, Nr. THIRSK, YORKS. Boarding School for Girls 10–18. Estab. 1877. Recognized by the Board of Education. Individual methods. Preparation for School Certificate and Universities. Grounds of 100 acres. Excellent health record. Moderate fees. Bursaries.

THE LAURELS, RUGBY. Established 1872. Private Boarding School. Graduate Staff. Preparation for University Entrance Examinations. Excellent health and games record. A few scholarships available.

VYNE STRATTON, MICHELDEVER. Residential School. Univ. of Lond., and college entrance exams. Scholarships available (£30 to £60). Beautiful home and grounds: (260 acres). Apply to the Head Mistress.

UPPER CHINE, SHANKLIN, I.W. Appvd. Board of Education. Ages 5-19. Entire charge. Preparation all Exams.

CO-EDUCATIONAL.

KING'S LANGLEY PRIORY, HERTS. A School for Boys and Girls based upon the educational principles of Dr. Rudolf Steiner.

EDUCATIONAL CENTRE.

LONDON HOSPITAL MEDICAL COLLEGE AND DENTAL SCHOOL. The College and School are fully equipped to meet modern requirements. The various Departments are under the control of University Professors or Lecturers. The prospectus may be obtained from the Dean, Professor William Wright, M.B., D.Sc., F.R.C.S., Turner Street, London, E.1.

Please Help

The Cancer Hospital (Free) is applying itself to the methodical and scientific investigation of the causes of Cancer, and the results of its invaluable research work are placed at the disposal of the medical practitioners of the world.

Whilst carrying on this work of study and research, The Cancer Hospital is contributing to the alleviation of suffering. It is well equipped with the most up-to-date appliances. Poor patients are admitted free and a certain number of beds are provided for advanced cases who are kept comfortable and free from pain.

A corner of one of the Laboratories in the Research Institute.

HELP BY
LEGACY SUBSCRIPTION OR DONATION
IS EARNESTLY SOLICITED

The Cancer Hospital
(FREE)

FULHAM ROAD (*Incorporated under Royal Charter.*) LONDON, S.W.3.

Bankers: COUTTS & CO., 440, Strand, London, W.C.

"TRUTH"
Grows Better Than Ever

ITS outspoken comments are always valuable to those who desire to keep pace with public affairs. And, of course, the value of its enlightened and critical survey of all Investments of importance is inestimable.

Then there are the authoritative articles by writers of distinction on Politics, Sport, Music, Art, the Theatre, Books and Motoring; the typical diary by the New Pepys, a Queer Story and exposures of all kinds of frauds.

Altogether, the journal—quite apart from its high literary standing—is necessary to everyone who needs an adequate survey of the movements of men and affairs.

NINEPENCE EVERY WEDNESDAY

Obtainable at all booksellers, or from

THE MANAGER, Truth Buildings, Carteret Street, London, S.W.1

by postal subscription at the following rates:

3 months, 10s. 10d. 6 months, £1 1s. 8d. 12 months, £2 3s. 4d.

GILL & REIGATE LTD.

25-26 GEORGE ST' HANOVER SQ'
LONDON

Mahogany and Amboyna Bookcase or China Cabinet, with serpentine front to lower part. 2ft. 9in. wide by 6ft. 3in. high. Mellow colour and finish. £58.10.0.

Originality, beauty of design, and fidelity to tradition are the outstanding features of our policy. To which we add the best modern methods of manufacture and moderate cost.

ANTIQUES REPRODUCTIONS DECORATIONS

JUNE, 1933

The Contents include :

INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY AND CONSERVATIVE PRINCIPLES
W. S. Morrison, M.P.

THE WORLD CONFERENCE
Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery, M.P.

THREE WIDOWS: A STORY
Raymond Bantock.

CHINA'S ALLEGED PROGRESS
J. O. P. Bland.

THE TRADE AGREEMENTS
Herbert G. Williams, M.P.

CURRENT COMMENTS
Douglas Jerrold.

A COUNTRYMAN'S DIARY
A. G. Street.

LOW TEMPERATURE CARBONIZATION
Bernard Acworth.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS
Sir Charles Petrie.

Reviews by: *Herbert Agar; Hugh Kingsmill; D. C. Somervell; Eleanor Chilton; Francis Toye, etc.*

CONSIDER

Your Clothes and their Style——

YOUR Clothes will keep their original style when the materials are rightly chosen. Consider the Linings. Friction and ordinary bodily action play havoc with poor Linings. But "COURTINE" LININGS, woven and guaranteed by COURTAULDS, resist the heaviest daily wear, remaining supple and silky in appearance to the last. For every class of tailoring

If any difficulty in obtaining "COURTINE" LININGS, write direct to the Manufacturers. COURTAULDS Ltd., 16 St Martin's-le-Grand, London E.C.1.

Ask your Tailor to use

"Courtine" (REGISTERED) LININGS

The name is on the Selvedge.

GUARANTEED FULLY SHRUNK.

JOHN MURRAY

THE LIVING UNIVERSE

By SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND

Author of "Dawn in India," etc.

A theory that the universe is not fundamentally material but animated by an Eternal Spirit which remains for ever the same through all its varied manifestations. An enthralling speculation. **10s. 6d.** net.

ETON FACES: OLD AND YOUNG

By C. A. ALINGTON, D.D.

This volume of verse may be taken as a valedictory salute to Eton on the part of Dr. Alington after his seventeen years of distinguished headmastership. **7s. 6d.** net.

THE O'DWYERS OF KILNAMANAGH

By SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

A fascinating history of an old Irish clan from the seventh century to the seventeenth, through all the troublous times that intervened. With Map. **10s. 6d.** net.

THE ROYAL LINE OF FRANCE

By E. THORNTON COOK

"Mrs. Thornton Cook is at her best."—*Sunday Times.*
"She is able to add charm to history."—*Observer.*
With 37 Illustrations. **18s.** net.

CLUES AND CRIME

The Science of Criminal Investigation

By HENRY T. F. RHODES

Author of "Genius and Criminal," etc.

"Discloses, with a wealth of thrilling examples, what science has done for the detective."—*Evening News.*
"A most valuable contribution to the literature of criminology."—*Chemistry and Industry.* **6s.** net.

WISDOM OF THE EAST SERIES

THE GOLDEN BREATH

By MULK RAJ ANAND

A prophetic dream of an India one in spirit and ideals and interests through its many forms of race and creed. **3s. 6d.** net.

50, ALBEMARLE ST., LONDON, W.1

THE DUBLIN MAGAZINE

A Quarterly Review of Literature, Science and Art

EDITED BY SEUMAS O'SULLIVAN

Contents :

APRIL - JUNE, 1933

POETRY :

Redwood Anderson — *F. R. Higgins*

J. Lyle Donaghy — *Patrick Kavanagh*

THE HOAX AND EARNEST OF THE WASTE LAND
By *Herbert E. Palmer*

SOME NOTES ON SCIENTIFIC CRITICISM IN CONNECTION WITH THE CLARENDON EDITION OF DONNE By *Alec Brown*

JAMES CLARENCE MANGAN By *Padraic Colum*

NIETZSCHE By *Dermot Murphy*

TWO UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT SHELLEY
By *La Tourette Stockwell*

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS MOORE
By *M. J. MacManus*

ANGLO-IRISH TRADE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY
By *Sean Ghall*

BOOK REVIEWS, ETC., ETC.

PRICE: *Two Shillings and Sixpence.*

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION: *Ten Shillings and Sixpence post free.*

2, CROW STREET, DUBLIN.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE LIMITED, HIS MAJESTY'S PRINTERS,
EAST HARDING STREET, E.C. 4, AND PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY
THE ENGLISH REVIEW (1911) LTD., 6, GREAT NEW STREET, LONDON, E.C. 4.
REGISTERED FOR CANADIAN POSTAGE.
ENTERED AT THE NEW YORK POST OFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MAIL MATTER.